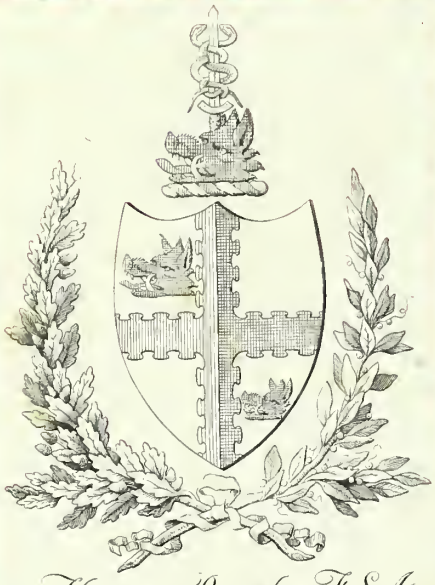




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"*INTER FOLIA FRUCTUS.*"

THE

CLARENDON

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HISTORICAL SOCIETY'S

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SERIES I. 1882—1884.

"History is but the unrolled Scroll of Prophecy."

—JAMES A. GARFIELD

EDINBURGH :
PRIVATELY PRINTED FOR THE SOCIETY.

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"INTER FOLIA FRUCTUS."

The Wicked Ways

OF THE

Cruell Cavaliers.

1644.

"History is but the unrolled scroll of Prophecy."

—James A. Garfield.

Privately Printed
FOR THE CLARENDON HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

1882.

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A

COPIE OF THE

KINGS Message sent by the Duke of *Lenox*.

Also the Copie of a Petition to the KING

from the Inhabitants of *Somersetshire*, to come with him to the Parliament.

A Declaration by the Committee of

Dorsetshire, against the Cavaliers in those parts; declaring how sixe French Papists ravished a woman one after another: She having been but three dayes before delivered out of Child-bed.

Also, how a Gentleman at Oxford was

cruelly tortured in Irons, and for what they were so cruell towards him.

And how they would have burnt down

an Ale-house at the Brill, because the woman refused Farthing tokens: And other cruelties of the Cavaliers, manifested to the Kingdome.

IMPRINTED AT LONDON.
1644.

A Declaration *of the vile and wicked wayes of the cruell* Cavaliers.

AS our cunning Enemies have still laboured to involve these three Kingdomes of England, Scotland and Ireland, into equall misery with Germany and other desolate Countries; that as themselves were falling under the rod of Justice, so we all might pertake of equall calamity with them, and (if possible) hinder the rightfull proceedings in Parliament; which would otherwayes make us happy, by bringing evill actions to just censures, and therefore chuse rather to bring the whole bodies of all the Kingdomes to be destroyed, then they (though rotten and imposthumed Members) be either cut off or lanched: Yet neverthelesse these Jesuiticall Sophisters, have still laboured to mask all their bloody designes, under the white visard and pretence of Peace, like that of France, which was but a Preface to the insuing massacre. I will first present you with a Petition of the malignant Gentry and Freeholders of the County of Somerset, which Petition was given to the King when he was at Sturmister, very fairly drawn thus.

To the Kings most Excellent Maiesty.

The humble Petition of the Gentry, Freeholders, and others, your Maiesties loyall, and Protestant Subjects, of the County of Sommerset.

Most humbly sheweth:

THat *among the many miseries that the present warre hath brought upon them, it hath been a great comfort to them to see your pious inclination to, and continued endeavours for setling Peace again, and had hoped that your Maiesties gracious Message to that*

purpose would have produced that desired effect. But not finding that successe answerable to their expectations, and your Maiesty being now upon a march nearer towards London ;

They humbly beseech your Maiesty, that they may have liberty to waite in person upon your Maiesty, and at a nearer distance of place, become Petitioners to the Lords and Commons of Parliament assembled at Westminster, *to embrace your Maiesties gracious offers of peace, and put an end to the calamities of this distracted and almost ruined nation, with due care to the preservation of the true Reformed Protestant Religion, your Maiesties Right and honours, the priviledges of Parliament, and your subiects liberties and properties, according to the Lawes of this your Kingdome: And in case they may not obtain so iust a request, they hall hold their lives best spent in assisting your Maiesty to compasse that by the sword, which by any other fair and iust way could not be effected; to which end they desire liberty to put themselves in Armes, and as they alwayes lived, shall reioice to dye,*

Your Maiesties most loyall and faithfull Subiects.

This Petition being presented to the King, from the Cavalieres and Malignants of the Country, was read, and the Duke of Lenox and Richmond being then by, the King spake thus to the Duke.

It is well knowne that the people of this Countie of Somerset are very Heathenish and ignorant, and yet me thinks they might have had so much sence and reason as to know that to put an end to these Calamities we now groane under, are not by Banding with Priests Jesuites and Friers, Irish Rebels, and Papists against the Representative body of the Kingdome, now sitting in Parliament, who sit there to reforme all the grievances of Kingdome. If we would live in peace and see good dayes, we must ioyne with the Parliament against these Romish Jesuiticall Armie , that so the Protestant Church may bee delivered from their Idolatry : and wickednesse, Jesus Christ may bee advanced unto his Throne, and the Church and state setled in heaven.

The Kings Speech to the Duke of Lenox *and* Richmond ;
in Answer to the Petition.

My Lord,

I Desire you to signifie to the Petitioners, that I do well approve their hearty and loyall affections, and accept the free offer of their service to me, with thanks ; and give them free liberty to

meet and put themselves in Armes, according to their desire, and waite upon me; and freely do give leave to them to become Petitioners of the Lords and Commons of Parliament assembled at Westminster, for composing the unhappy differences of this poor Kingdome in a peaceable way; and shall be glad to hear the Petitioners, and all other my loyall and well affected Subjects present with me, and be witnesses who is in the fault, if they be not presently restored to an happy peace again. I hereby assuring them, that I will only insert upon the preservation of the true Reformed Protestant Religion, my own known Rights, the Priviledges, of Parliament, and my Subjects liberty and property, according to the Lawes of the Kingdome; and shall endeavour to have all those setled, in a full and free Convension of Parliament.

And because I would not have the good intentions of the petitioners frustrated, I wish them to take care to make such propositions, as may be necessary for their Journey, and they shall not fale of my best assistance likewise therein. And I desire the Sherief of this Countie do summon the posse thereof, or any other persons inhabitants of the same, at such time, and in such places, as the Commissioners shall think fit, for the advancement of this businesse.

This Message the Duke of Lenox and Richmond delivered to the Commissioners of Aray, who endeavoured to presse and forse all they could to go to joyne with the King, so that the Inhabitants were faine to fly from their dwellings, and the honest Gentlemen, and Freeholders, with what they could safely take with them, were driven to ride into Glostershire, Dorsetshire, and other parts, and some to come to London, to be rid of, and secure themselves, whose houses were soundly plundred in their absence,

And who can be so blinde as not see, that they seek for to destroy this, and in this all Parliaments, secondly to spoyle the Famous City of London, and with them all the rest of Kingdome, which they call Round Heads. There usuall course being to swer *they will make the Round-heads bowe to a Crosse.*

The poore Hostesse at the Brill, because she told her Bostocke Guesse the last weeke that farthings would not goe, and disired them to give her silver, they kicked her up and downe house, and set fire

of the house and had burnt it down, but that by large rewards, and importunity, they permitted her neighbours to quench it.

And an honest man a prisoner in Oxford said not long since that if he was at London in peace, he did not doubt but through Gods blessing to be able to give to them, who now deny him bread, and for this he was put neck and heeles in Irons three dayes to gether and in Iron fetters a moneth after.

But these are no strange things, for thus do they abuse the King himselfe for notwithstand all these protestations and shewes of love, and What not to the King, yet at the late fight at Newbery; they all fled from him, to Wallingford, save onely about 20. of his Life Guard; that the King cryed out after them, saying, *Will you all leave me, they will take me prisaner, and carry me to the Tower*, and they left him in this condition, are not these prety fellowes to be trusted by the King before his Parliement, this was a base dog tricke of them, one would thinke that the King should never trust them againe.

And although there are many axamples more of the unworthy, yea and exceeding barbarous examples of the Kings forces, to honest godly people where they come, and especially by the Papists, and such as are most in esteem and trust amongst them; yet I shall conclude with a most inhumane and beastly action done by some of their beloved French Shouldiers in Dorcetshire, certified under the hands of the Committee in that Countie, and by a Declaration from them, of which here followeth a coppie.

At the standing Committee of the Countie of *Dorset*, 24. October, 1644.

Countreymen friends and neighbours.

WHEREAS we are informed of many monstrous outrages in severall townes and parishes, in this Countie, by the French Papists of the Queenes Regiment, and others who are put among us by some ill affected Gentlemen, to assist them

in raising forces, and amongst the rest a most horred act, most execrable, and Abominable in the sight of God and man, committed by six of those French Troopers, who forced a woman in a most beastly manner, one after another, three dayes after her delivery from childebed, to the hazard of her life, and have also committed divers others, Rapes, Murthers, and other actions, unfit to be named by us, in sundry places of this countie, we professe to the world our hearty hatred and detestation of the abominable facts, and doe Resolve by the helpe of Almighty God, to cause justice to be executed upon the offenders, and do hereby declare our resolutions to the uttermost of our endeavours, to drive out of these parts those barbarous Bloodsuckers, and inhumane beasts, and all their abettors, their indeavours being to extirpate our Religion and Liberty, and to bring us, and our posterity into perpetuall bondage, and slavery, and by these and such like instruments, to triumph over us at their pleasure, if therefore your zeale to God, your love to Religion, and liberty, your care to have justice executed, and your desires to enjoy your wifes children, and estates in peace, shall stir you up to joyn with us in this action, so much concerning the glory of God, and good of your countrey, we promise to assist you with our lives and fortunes which we intend to demonstrate, by our present taking the field, and whosoever shall joyne with us in a businesse of such importance shall be furnished with Armes and other things needfull for the service. And thus in expectation of your Readinesse,

we heartily remain :
Your loving friends.

Subscribed by
Anthonie Ashley Cooper,
and the rest of the Committee.

FINIS.

"INTER FOLIA FRUCTUS."

TWO EXTRACTS

FROM

"The Mercurius Caledonius"

OF

JANUARY 8th, 1661.

"History is but the unrolled scroll of Prophecy."
—James A. Garfield.

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1882

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MERCURIVS CALEDONIVS.

COMPRISING

THE AFFAIRS NOW IN AGITATION IN SCOTLAND.

Conamur Tenues Grandia.

From *Monday* Decemb. 31 to *Tuesday Jan.* 8th 1661.

From Edinburgh, Decemb. 31.

OUR clouds are dissipate, the rays of Royalty, darts from the breasts of *Scot's*-men, not being in the power of the most skillfull Artificers of Treason, to stave off our Allegiance, which was bravely manifested in the reception of His Majesties High Commissioner the Earl of *Middleton;* (who according to the grander of his State) was welcomed seven miles from the City, by numerous Troops of Nobility, Gentry and Citizens, all in such equipage, as become both Court and Camp.

The next day, *January* the first, the Earl *Marshall*, accompanied with Four hundreth Gentlemen of his own relations march't on foot from his own Lodging to His Majesties Pallace, the present residence of the Lord Commissioner, with the Honors of the Kingdom, (*viz.*) He himself, carrying the Crown, the second Brother, Colonell *George Keith*, the Scepter: and the younger, Sir *John Keith*, the Sword: These three Noble Brothers hath been eminent both in their Services and Sufferings for the Royal Interest: And when the two elder were

prisoners in *England*, by the particular care and industry of the younger; the same sacred Honors (so much hunted after by Enemies) were miraculously preserved: for which, His Majesty hath deservedly conferred upon him the Honour of Knight-Marshall of *Scotland*.

After the Honors were solemnly laid before the Commissioner in the presence, upon the Table, under the Cloth of State, then conform to the Ancient Custom of our Nation, and the formalities of ranging the Nobility by the King at Arms, being performed; they proceeded to the Riding of the Parliament, in manner as followeth:

The Commissioners for the severall Burghs, in comely and rich Apparrell, after them the Barrons, sumptuously, but civilly cloathed, with their Lacqueis in Livery, every one two: Next, the Lords in their Robes, each with three Lacquies, with their respective Badges of Honour on back and breast, as all Noblemen at such times and Solemnities used to have; then the Viscounts with their Lacquies: then the Earls, each having four Lacquies in rich Attire: Then six Trumpets uncovered: Twelve Heraulds with their Coats of Arms: Two Serjeants with Maces: Then Sir *Alexander Durham*, Lord Lyon, King at Arms in his Coat, which was most glorious: Then the Earl of *Mar* carrying the Sword of Honour, with a Mace on each hand: Then the Earl of *Sutherland* . . . . the Royall Crown in like manner.

The Lord *Ramsay*, Son to the Earl of *Dalhousie* carried His Majesties Commission in a Crimson Velvet Bagg, a little advanc't on the Lord Commissioner his left hand, who rode in State, all others being bare, save Duke *Hammilton* and the Marquesse of *Montrose*, who immediately followed him with their Hats on.

The streets all along was Guarded by Eighteen Companies of Citizens well armed and in gorgeous Apparrell.

At their arrivall at the Parliament Yard, they were received by the Lord High Constable of *Scotland;* The Earl of *Arroll* with a hundreth Gentlemen of his Name, Armed with Swords, Pistols, and guilded Pole-axes.

The Lord Commissioner being by him conducted to the door of

the House, he was received by the Earl *Marshall* and his Guard, consisting in like manner of Gentlemen of his Name and Relations, Commanded under himself, by *Alexander Keith* of *Ludwharne*.

The Parliament being set, the Officers of State, and all the other Members in their peculiar stations: Sermon being ended, His Majesties Commission read, the Lord Commissioner shortly, though fully delivered His Majesties carefull Inclinations towards this His Ancient Kingdom, and how graciously he was ready to restore the fundamentall Laws which hadbeen so shrewdly shaken by the iniquity of the Times: but the present occasion will not admit of all that was spoken by His Grace, which I refer to another conveniency.

It was then moved that the Lord Chancellor, according to the right of the Kingdom should proceed: Next that, the oath of Allegiance should be taken by all the Members, both which votes passed without contradiction, the one to the extirpation of all unjust Oaths, the other to lop off the former sort of Precedentship, or Chire-man. never known but in the dayes of darknesse. This was the issue of that dayes proceeding.

Only the Members of Parliament in the same order, conducting the Lord Commissioner to his Majesties Pallace of *Holy-rood-house*, where his Grace, in the Presence Chamber Supped in State, and the Nobility at two long Tables on each side of the room.

The Earl of *Atholl* officiate as Cup-bearer, the Earl of *Aboyne* (son to the late martyr'd Marquesse of *Huntley*) presented the Water, the Earl of *Dundee* holding the Towell, Master *Murray*, Brother to the Earl of *Atholl*, as Carver: The Dishes being served up by Gentlemen, and which was most remarkable, considering the past dissentions during the late Troubles; there was such an unexpressible harmony in that Solemnity; as their cheerfulnesse discovered them so many loving Children, who had found a lost Father.

Friday following, being the fourth, the Parliament sate again, where having first setled some small debates touching Commissions: They resolved an honourable reparation for that horrid and monstrous barbarity fixed on Royall Authority, in the person of the Great *James* Marquesse of *Montrose*, His Majesties Captain General, and Lord

High Commissioner (*viz.*) that his Body, together, with that of the Baron of *Dalgetyes*, murdered on the same Account, and buried in the same place; Head, and other his divided and scattered members, may be gathered together and interr'd with all Honour imaginable.

Edinburgh, Monday 7, 1661.

This day, in obedience to the Order of Parliament, this City was allarmed with Drums, and nine Trumpets, to go in their best Equipage and Arms for transporting the Dis-membered Bodies of his Excellency the Lord Marquesse of *Montrose*, and that renowned Gentleman Sir *William Hay* of *Dalgety*, murthered both for their prowess and transcending Loyalty to King and Country, whose Bodies to their Glory and their enemies shame, had been ignomini ously thrust in the earth, under the publike Gibbet half a mile from Town. That of the Lord Marquesse was indeed intended for ignominy to his high name, but that of the other ambitiously covet by himself as the greatest honour he could have, when being incapable to serve his Majesty longer, to engrave nigh his great Patron, which doubtlesse proceeded from a faith typical of a more glorious one. The Ceremony was thus performed: The Lord Marquesse of *Montrose*, with his friends of the name of *Graham*, the whole Nobility, and Gentry, with Provest, Baillies and Councel, together with four Companies of the Trained Bands of the City, went to the Place, where having chanced directly (however possibly persons might have been present able to demonstrate) On the same Trunk, as evidently appeared by the Coffin, which had been formerly broke a purpose by some of his friends in that place nigh his Chest, whence they stole his heart, embalmed it in the costliest manner, and so reserves it: as also by the Trunk it self found without the skull, and limbs distracted in the four chief Towns of the Nation; but these through the industry and respect of friends carried to the Martyre, are soon to welcome the rest. That other of Sir *William Hay* of *Dalgety*, was as surely pluckt forth, lying next to that of his Excellency. The noble Lord Marquesse and his friends took care that these ruins were decently wrapt in the finest linnen; so did likewise the friends of the other, and so incoffined suitable to their respectful dignities.

The Trunck of his Excellency thus Coffined, was covered with a large and rich black Velvet Cloath, taken up and from thence carried by the Noble Earls of *Marre*, *Athol*, *Linlithgow*, *Seaford*, *Hartfield*, and others of these Honourable Families: The Lord Marquesse himself, his brother Lord *Robert*, and Sir *John Calquhoun* Nephew to the deceased Lord Marquesse, supporting the head of the Coffin, and all under a very large Pale (or Canopy) supported by the noble Viscount of *Stormond*, the Lords *Stranaver*, *Fleeming*, *Drumlanerick*, *Ramsay*, *Matherty* and *Rollock*. Being accompanied with a Body of Horse of Nobility and Gentry, to the number of 200, rallied in decent Order by the Viscount of *Kenmure*, they came to the place where the Head stood, under which they set the Coffin of the Trunk on a Scaffold made for that purpose, till the Lord *Naper* the Barons of *Morphy Inchbrakie*, *Urchell* and *Gorthy*, and severall other noble Gentlemen placed on a scaffold next to the Head (and that on the top of the Towns Tolbooth six Story high) with sound of Trumpet, discharge of many Canon from the Castle, and the honest peoples loud and joyful acclamation, all was joyned and crowned with the Crown of a Marquesse, conveyed with all Honour befitting such an action to the Abbay Church of *Holy-rood-house*, a place of Buriall frequent to our Kings, there to continue in State, untill the Noble Lord his Son be ready for the more magnificent Solemnization of his Funerals.

All our Solemnities, both that of the High Commissioners reception, that of Riding the Parliament, and this great Honour done to the memory of the Grand Exemplar of Loyalty his Excellency the Marquesse of *Montrose* was accompanied with infinite Acclamations of the People: Great Volleys of shot by the City Companies, and thundering of Canon from the Castle: It's many years since those sparks of Loyalty has been smothered by the ashes of Tyranny: It's true, though a considerable part of our Nation were the first that transgressed upon their duty, yet they never reached the length of a boundlesse disobedience, for they no sooner discovered the depth of the Treason wherein their rebellious confederates in *England* would have ensnared them, but they presently faced about to their Allegiance, and it is well known to the world, that since the year 1648, there was never a people enterprised such honourable and probable wayes to redeem former Escapes than we did; and though it was the pleasure of Providence to disappoint our designes, yet we never

grudged neither at our Imprisonments, the losse of the dearest of our blood, nor devastation of our Fortunes ; And which is our grand comfort, we have attained so much knowledge as never again to be juggled out of our reason, under the notion of specious pretences : for the drowsiest Clown of our most Northern Islands can with content smile at the cheats of Liberty, and the Good old Cause. And therefore the Blasphemers, *Rumpers*, and other Antimonarchicall Vermin in *England* must cast about some where else then for companions in *Scotland.*



Edinburgh, Printed by a Society of *Stationers* in the year 1661.
16

"INTER FOLIA FRUCTUS."

The Devill and the Parliament,

OR,

The Parliament and the Devill:

A CONTESTATION BETWEEN THEM FOR THE PRECEDENCIE.

(1648.)

"History is but the unrolled scroll of Prophecy."

—JAMES A. GARFIELD.

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THE DEVILL,

AND

the Parliament:

OR,

THE PARLIAMENT

and the Devill.

A Contestation between them for
the precedencie.

Hold, hold, good Parliament, Pluto *thy freind,*
Deserts thee now, 'tis Vaine for to contend.

Printed in the Yeere, 1648.

THE

DEVILL and the PARLIAMENT,

OR,

The Parliament and the Devill.

The Devill singing.

Ile aide no more, for I have done,
The worst that Hell could thinke upon.
Therefore good parliament now begone,
Or you'l come to perdition.

For all your legends and your ties;
Your plots, and your conspiracies,
Your murthers and your cruelties,
Your errors, and impieties.

Now topsey turvey, ring the knell,
Come Parliament with me to hell,
There thee and I will ever dwell;
Thus Rebells, must I pay you well.

HO, ho, ho, are you angry Mr. Parliament, because I will no longer assist you, I that created you am forbidden by him that created me to act in you any longer, you know what an helper I have been unto you this seven yeares, by me you first tooke up Armes against your gracious King, by me deluded the people with a vaine hope of Reformation, when your intentions even from the beginning, were for the ruine of the King, Church and Kingdome, by me you entred

into Covenant with Death, & hell; by me, you have practised al manner of cruelties and oppression, and by me it was that you were prevalent against your Soveraigne; he that threw me downe from Heaven for conspiring against him, permitted me to be the Patron, and Protector, of your Rebellion, and by my means it was that you had the impious boldnesse, to imprison your Soveraigne Lord King CHARLES, in the Isle of *Wight*, by me it was, that you Cashierd your Covenant and so became at enmity with the *Scots*, but not by me, but the Almighty 'tis, that you are now falling from all your greatnesse, why should you blame me then, as I deserted you; the world can witnesse I have served faithfully, and been as true a Devill to your trust as *Harry Martin*,* or the Traytor *Say*.† What ho *Belphegor*, thou hast ever been a willing friend to flie abroad with any Messenger, sent by the Parliament to cease upon the persons of all those who Wrot for the King, whose Pens did stab Rebellion to the heart, who still are constant to their Principles, and dare call Rebells, Rebells, thou often hast accompanied the State spies, those hounds that hunt the Souls of Royalists such as my faithfull, and my dearest sonnes the Sanguine *Lewis*,‡ and the pale face *Leechman*, two Rogues, whose like Slavonia ne'er bred; flie thou my prettie Devill, and call hither, my fellow Vilaine Mr. Parliament.

Belphegor.

I goe Sir.

Devill.

I meane to call a Parliament in Hell, but I shall not need to hunt about my teritories to summon Members, from each corporation, the upper House and lower House at *Westminster* shall be lawmakers for me, I have found that they in policie, exceed me farre, *Æcus Minos* and *Rhadamanthus*, and all his powers of Hell, that are beside.

Belphegor.

Great Sir, I have perform'd my Embasie, but Mr Parliament is so imploid, he saith, he cannot see your Divellship.

* One of the regicides. He was tried, after the Restoration, and condemned to death.

† William Say, another of the regicides; one of the seven persons excepted from the bill of Indemnity. He escaped, however, to Lausanne.

‡ Sir William Lewis, a member of the Council of State.

Devill.

His cannot is his will not; am I growne fearefull to him, are we not still all of one house, one counsell, he cannot stand two daies if I forsake him, I hope hee'l not turne honest now at last, and so deceive my expectation, no Devill, no Parliament, is a sure *maxime*, or is it so, that he himselfe deludes and hopes to rule without my suffrage, poore foole thou hast experience that without me, thou canst not frame a Declaration, for to amuze the peoples minds, that so while they are all astonished, thou mayst with more facility be wicked; thou canst not plunder any man of his goods because he's faithfull to his God, and King, and turne his Wife and Children out a begging, except I goe before thee, and prepare thy way, nor canst thou murther a *Burleigh*,* *Tomkins* or a *Challenour*, a reverend *Bishop*, or a glorious Statesman, except I enter and possesse thy brest, egging thee on to purchase thine own ruine; thy King had nere been made a prisoner, or the slave *Hammond*† been his dogged Iailer, but that I sate in counsell with the Agitators, who rul'd the roast at *Windsor*; tell me *Belphegor* what was his excuse?

Belphegor.

He told me Sir, that he was very busie in plotting how to keep his head on's sholuders (sic.): how still to keep his name up with the people which he was almost in dispaire to doe, for that the vulgar, now did he deadly hate him and discovered all his plots, and Stratagems and ready we're each day for to devour him alleadging he had forfeited his being, and broke all Lawes, both Morrall and Devine; he also was raging most furiously for that by letters he had given to know that all *Westshmen* were in armes against him conducted by one *Butler*, *Poyer* and *Powell*, that *Barwick* and *Carlile* were ceased one by Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, and Sir *Thomas Glemham* and that his brother *Lecker* had deserted him, and is on his March with thirty thousand men, with an intention for to whip him soundly because he hath not kept his Covenant; that all the Kingdomes of the earth were banding, and vowed to worke his ruine but he commanded me for to remember his deare love unto you, which I perceive was onely seemingly, for to

* Caused a drum to be beat at Newport (I.O.W.) to gather the populace to the rescue of the King. Was for this tried and executed.

† Col. Hammond, Governor of Carisbrooke Castle.

himselfe he muttered that his distrust of God and trusting you had been his ruine.

Devill.

Is he so soone reclaim'd, Ile soone alter his temper; What ho *Artophilax*, thou art the strongest Devill hell affords, hast thou to *Westminster*, there shalt thou find my brother Parliament, with his Committees and his Clerkes about him, *Hanscot*, and *Lewis*, *Leechman*, and all the Rogues, together in one knot, tell him I needs must speake with him, and consult about those affaires neerly concern us both, if he refuse to come, force him along, thou knowest.

Artophilax.

I flie Sir.

Devill.

Prithee *Belphegor*, tell me, thou flyest about the earth on all occasions, what is the newes amongst mortals.

Belphegor.

With swift Vellocity, proper to spirits, and aeriall formes, I doe intrude into all companies, sometimes I am amongst Judges when they sit upon the bench, I heare from them, that are male content, sorry but dare not show it (being over-awed by your brother Parliament) while they must sit and passe their doome on men, and hang up those for Traytors that love the King; onely because Traytors, will have it so, I am sometimes amongst Churchmen, or if you will the Synod, who do confesse themselves dam'nd Hypocrites, a Convocation call'd by Rebells, to back their most usurped temporall swords, with that is spirituall, who sell Religion for foure shillings a day; frame Directories, Articles, and Catechismes, to foole the people into new opinions, who have reform'd no error, but have broacht, more then the *Ephesian* Counsell, who pull'd the Bishops out othe' Saddle, that they might mount on horse-back, and have cried downe Plurality of Livings, that they might get by the hand; I am sometimes amongst the rurall swaines, who mutter as they thrash, that all is nought and that the slaves at Westminster have undone them, have sheared them nearer then their sheep, yet will not bestow so much tarre upon them, as will preserve their buttocks from the flies, I have been ———

Artophilax, with Mr. Parliament on his backe.

Devill.

O my deare friend, what is the reason now that thee and I are thus estranged, we that have been so mightily familiar and have done nothing without joynt consent, who mutually ought to affect each other, and both tryumph, as ruiners of Nations, without our amity no mischiefs currant, why art thou now averse.

Mr. Parliament.

I tell thee brother, I am now as potent, and can without thee be as devillish, as when thy selfe wert most my friend, I now am my Crafts-master, and know how, to be as envious bloody, and barbarous as thou thy selfe canst possibly invent, I can out-doe thee Lucifer my master, and had not the strong arme of Fate, Crusht me too hard now at my height of fortunes, I had been called *Apollyon*, and not thee.

Devill.

How foolishly thou arguest. God or the Devill must have power o're al men, have I raised thee unto this height of glory, while for the sinnes of *England*, God hath suffered me to call thee, as a Parliament, and to thee have I given all my power, taught thee to lie, dissemble, & to cheat a Nation of their Birth-right; the knowne Law, have I perswaded the deluded vulgar, to hearken to thy poisonous Rhetorick and to believe thou meanest for to Reforme, and building on that weake foundation, to bring their Plate, Coyne, and all their treasure, and throw it at thy feet; have I infus'd contentious spirits into them, which stirred them up to Faction, and Rebellion, that so the father hath destroyed his child, and children hand to hand have slaine their fathers, so that the ground hath been watered with Blood, as with raine while thou hast laine at home and tane thine ease, fed high to strengthen lust, and fill'd thy baggs brim full with gold, extorted from the wretched blinded people, have I constrained the Blew Capt swads of *Scotland*, to joyne with thee in a most bloody League, a Covenant which I my selfe compil'd, and put to it my best invention, who ayded thee in all thy base attempts, and have I no more thanks for all my paine, yet doe thy worst, I needs must have thy foul that is my own, by contract, and 'twas for that that all this while I ayded thee.

Mr. Parliament.

I doe acknowledge thee my only Patron all my Thankesgiving dayes, for severall Victories, were wholly set apart to sing thy praises, no *Indian* ever worshipt thy black *Diety*, with such obsequious hearty adoration as I have done these seaven yeares; all those dayes I ordained for *humiliation*, were kept at such times when thy power for sooke me, and that I found thou didst not fight in Person, joyning with my part-takers against the King, and to conclude all Honours, Victories, all the vast Treasure and the numerous mischiefs, that I got, or have performed this 7 yeares have been wholly by thee, but now I find thy power is limitted, and that the Almighty hath tane away thy strength, so that my enemies increase upon me, and all men seeke to worke my fall from East, from West, the gellid No.* and South, inevitable mischiefs come against me, wherefore I would fain devest my self, and would esteem it a chief happiness, if I could to resign my usurped power, as to scape with my life, and with my money, this I have hope to doe; and there fore I have voted for a King,† and that the Government of the *English* Nation, by King, Lords, and Commons as of old, and could I also but escape thy clutches.

Devill.

O thou most wretched fool, 'tis as impossible for thee to escape the everlasting force of *Stygian* fire, as it is for me once more to visit heaven and thy body is for dogs, thy soule for hell, *God* will no longer let the *English* Nation bee slave to thy Command, their ancient *Discipline* must be restored, and they yet once more happie, each of you take a limbe my masters *Devils*, I'le beare the rest my self, ho, ho, ho, answer me *Belphegor*. *Artophilax* answer him.

Sing aloud English *Nation*. Bel; *let all bee content:*
Artop; *your blest Reformation*; Devill, *to the Devill is sent:*

FINIS.

* North.

† From this and what follows, one would think the date of the Broadside was 1660 rather than 1648, which, however, it undoubtedly is.

"INTER FOLIA FRUCTUS."

Cheriton Fight

(MARCH 29th, 1644).

BEING

SIR WILLIAM BALFOUR'S

ACCOUNT OF THE BATTLE

IN A LETTER TO THE

EARL OF ESSEX.

"History is but the unrolled scroll of Prophecy."
—JAMES A. GARFIELD.

PRIVATELY PRINTED
FOR THE CLARENDON HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

1882

The Reprints of the CLARENDON HISTORICAL SOCIETY are issued to members *only*.

This edition is limited to *One Hundred and Twenty* large paper and *Four Hundred* small paper copies.

Sir William Balfores

LETTER of *March* 30. 1644.

TO HIS

EXCELLENCY

The Earl of *Essex*

L^d GENERALL.

It is his Excellencies pleasure that this *Letter* be forth-with Printed.

Jo. Baldwin Secretary to his *Excellency.*

LONDON,
Printed for *Laurance Blaiklock.* 1644.



Sir Will. Balfores
LETTER of *March* 30. 1644.

To his

EXCELLENCY

the Earle of *Essex*

Lord *GENERALL.*

May it please your Excellency,

BEcause of our being constrain'd these nights (by-past) to want sleepe, and this last night Horse and Man to lye upon the heath betwixt *Alford* and *Winchester*, and all this day in like manner spent upon the fields before *Winchester*, (so that being drowsie for want of sleepe) I shall beg leave of your Excellency for using a short discourse, for the present to let your Excell: know, That it hath pleased Almighty God to grant us a great Victory over our enemies, beyond all expectation; We having taken a resolution (by reason of your Excellencies and the Committee of both Kingdomes commandments) to be wary, and cautious to engage our selves in a fight with the enemy but upon advantage; Yet wee finding them resalved to put us to it, on Friday the 29 of this instant, by their bringing their whole Army upon us, to beate out first some Musquetiers out of the hedges a pretty distance from our quarters, and thereafter to Allarm our quarters: I caused all our Horse to draw out in a little Heath before our quarters, and the Foot to be drawn up in Battell in a large spacious field within our quarters in a Heath. The enemy coming towards us, were received with such dexterity & valor, that it pleased Almighty God (after a long cum-

bate all the day long, from nine a clock in the morning to night) to give us an unexpected great Victory, by beating both their Horse and Foote out of the Heath before our quarters, and following the victory not onely to their quarters, but put them by *Alford*, and followed them within 4 miles of *Winchester*; their whole body of foot which they have beene so long a composing (I assure your Excellency) totally routed, & so broken, that *Hopton* cannot make up his Foote Army I am confident most part of this summer; their Foote were so dispersed up and downe through all the fields, that they sweare they will never serve againe: The Lord *John** brother to the D. of *Richmond*, who commanded their Horse, is killed for certain, with many Officers, as Col. *Butler*,† Col. *Gray* and others; Sir *John Smith*,‡ *Cary*, with *Stovell* dangerously wounded, who is also our prisoner, Col. *Peard* and *Seamore*, and 5. or 6. more Commanders prisoners, and as many ordinary souldiers as we desired to take. Of ours onely *Col. Meldrum* shot in his arme, and wounded in the head, but not dangerously or mortall; Major *Bozwell* also wounded in the belly that he cannot live: So that all agrees that there was never so great a Victory; neither so few slain men: the enemies Horse held up the Foot, and made them stand to it, and fight by force, beating and cutting them with their swords. We are more then obliged to our good God for so great a Victory, God make us thankfull for it.

Your Excellencies most
humble Servant,
W. Baltore.

March 30. at
2. a clock in
the morning.

Generall Ruthen *was in the fight and as is reported wounded.*

---

* Lord John Stuart who commanded Lorn Hopton's cavalry.

† This is an error as Col. Butler escaped to Oxford.

‡ Brother to Lord Carrington and Commissary General of the Horse. He had recovered the Royal Standard at the battle of Edge-Hill.

"INTER FOLIA FRUCTUS."

SCOTIÆ NUMISMA:

OR,

ANCIENT SCOTISH COINS:

THEIR REAL AND PROPORTIONAL VALUE;

WITH

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE PRICES OF PROVISIONS IN SCOTLAND IN ANCIENT TIMES,

TO WHICH IS ADDED

A NOTICE OF SCOTISH MONASTIC INSTITUTIONS

AT THE

PERIOD OF THE REFORMATION.

(1738.)

"History is but the unrolled scroll of Prophecy."

—JAMES A. GARFIELD.

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SCOTIÆ NUMISMA.

THE history of no country can be well understood without a knowledge of the money and coin peculiar to it. Great mistakes often occur in the perusal of our Scotish history, owing to our uncertainty of the value and denomination of money at the various periods of it. This is not greatly to be wondered at, since no Scotish money has been coined later than the Union, and our old mode of reckoning in Scotish money has now become obsolete. It is hoped, therefore, that the following brief account of our money will prove acceptable to readers of Scotish history, and will convey such a knowledge of the subject as shall be liable to no great mistake.

The most ancient Scotish money that has yet been found is the silver *penny* of William the Lion, and from his time to that of David II. no higher denomination of money was coined. David II. coined *groats*, *half groats*, *pennies*, and *half pennies*, in silver* : and these various denominations continued till the death of James V. but of different degrees of weight and fineness. Mary coined *royals* of xxx, xx, and x shillings, generally known by the name of the Crookstone dollar; the xxx shilling piece, weighing 472 grains, is nearly the same as our present crown piece (not the new coinage,) the others in proportion. James VI. coined money the same as the last reign ; also *merks*, *half merks*, *quarter merks*, and *half quarter merks*, *nobles*, and *half nobles*. About 1600, Scots money was depreciated to one-twelfth of sterling money ; at this value it has continued ever since. The coins of Charles I. were nearly the same as that of his father. After the Restoration, Charles II. coined a *four merk* piece, *two merk*, *merk*, and *half merk ;* and a *dollar*, 56 shillings value, a *half dollar*, *quarter dollar*, *half quarter*, and a 16th of a *dollar*, value three shillings and sixpence. The coins of Charles II. are milled money, and finely executed. James VII. coined 40 and 10 *shilling* pieces. William and Mary coined 60, 40, 20, 10, and 5 *shilling* pieces. Those of King William were the same. Queen Anne coined only two sorts, a 10 and 5 *shilling* piece. Here follows a table of our Scotish silver coins, in which may be clearly seen how many numeral pounds, shillings, and pennies Scots, have been coined out of one real pound weight of silver at different times ; likewise the standard of such money, or the different degrees of fineness in it, under the reigns of different kings.

* The Editor has in his possession a penny of Alexander III. which weighs 22 grains, a groat of David II. weighing 67½ grains, another 59 grains, and one of Robert III. which weighs 47½ grains.

Anno Dom.	*Year of the reign.*	*Purity.*			*Allay.*			*Value of the money out of a pound weight of silver.*		
		oz.	*pw.*	*gr.*	*oz.*	*pw.*	*gr.*	*L.*	*s.*	*d.*
From 1107	Alexander I. David I. William									
To	Alexander II. Alexander III.	11	2	0	0	18	0	1	0	0
1296	John Baliol.									
From 1306 To 1329	Robert I.	11	2	0	0	18	0	1	1	0
1366	David II. 38	11	2	0	0	18	0	1	5	0
1367	—— 39	11	2	0	0	18	0	1	9	4
From 1371 To 1390	Robert II.	11	2	0	0	18	0	1	9	4
1393	Robert III. 4	11	2	0	0	18	0	1	12	0
1424	James I. 19	11	2	0	0	18	0	1	17	6
1451	James II. 15	11	2	0	0	18	0	3	4	0
1456	—— 20	11	2	0	0	18	0	4	16	0
1475	James III. 16	11	2	0	0	18	0	7	4	0
1484	—— 24	11	2	0	0	18	0	7	0	0
1488	James IV. 1	11	2	0	0	18	0	7	0	0
1489	—— 2									
1529	James V. 16	11	0	0	1	0	0	9	12	0
1544	Mary 3	11	0	0	1	0	0	9	12	0
1556	—— 14	11	0	0	1	0	0	13	0	0
1565	—— 23	11	0	0	1	0	0	18	0	0
1567	James VI. 1	11	0	0	1	0	0	18	0	0
1571	—— 5	9	0	0	3	0	0	16	14	0
1576	—— 10	8	0	0	4	0	0	16	14	0
1579	—— 13	11	0	0	1	0	0	22	0	0
1581	—— 15	11	0	0	1	0	0	24	0	0
1597	—— 31	11	0	0	1	0	0	30	0	0
1601	—— 35	11	0	0	1	0	0	36	0	0
1738	George II. 12	11	2	0	0	18	0	37	4	0

It is generally allowed that there was no gold coined in Scotland before Robert II.'s reign, about 1371, who coined three different sorts, known by the name of *St. Andrew's;* but it is to be observed, that the value and denomination of our ancient Scotish coins are by no means accurately ascertained. James II. coined *lyons* and half *lyons*, the *lyon* weighing 52 grains. James III. coined *unicorns* and half *unicorns*, the *unicorn* weighing 58 grains. James IV. had pieces called *ryders*, from the impression of the king on horse-back, with a

sword in his hand, being on the coin. James V. contracted the size, and increased the thickness of the gold coin, known by the denomination of *bonnet pieces*, from the figure of the king, with a *bonnet* on his head, being impressed on it. This coin was minted from gold found in Crawford muir. The gold coins of Queen Mary are of considerable variety; among which are the *lyon* of 35 grains weight, the *testoon* of 117, and the half *testoon*. The coins of James VI. are also of great variety; the *rose noble*, the *ryder* of 77 and 78 grains, the *angel*, or six pound piece of 78½ grains, and the half *angel*; the *jacobus's*, or broad pieces, at twelve pounds Scots, and the *double crown*, or six pounds, and the *thistle crown* at 48 shillings. Charles I.'s were similar to those of his father. Neither Charles II. nor James VII. coined any gold in Scotland. Some *pistoles* and *half pistoles*, commonly called *Darien pistoles*, from some gold sent home by that company, were coined by William III. A better idea of our gold coin may be had by inspecting the following table, in which is shown how many numeral pounds, shillings, and pennies Scots, were coined out of one pound weight of gold; also their intrinsic fineness, and the proportion that the gold bore to the silver.

A. D.	*Anno regni.*	*Fineness.*			*Allay.*			*Value of the coin coined out of one pound of gold.*			*Pound of pure gold, weighed of pure silver.*			
		oz.	*pw.*	*gr.*	*oz.*	*pw.*	*gr.*	*L.*	*s.*	*d.*	*lb.*	*oz.*	*pw.*	*gr.*
1371	Robert II. —	11	18	18	0	1	6	17	12	0	11	1	17	22
1390	Robert III. —	11	18	18	0	1	6	19	4	0	11	1	17	22
1424	James I. 19	11	18	18	0	1	6	22	10	0	11	1	17	22
1451	James II. 15	11	18	18	0	1	6	33	6	8	9	8	4	14
1456	——— 20	11	18	18	0	1	6	50	0	0	9	8	4	14
1475	James III. 16	11	18	18	0	1	6	78	15	0	10	2	0	20
1484	——— 24	11	18	18	0	1	6	78	15	0	10	5	7	9
1488	James IV. 1	11	18	18	0	1	6	78	15	0	10	5	7	9
1529	James V. 16	11	18	18	0	1	6	108	0	0	10	5	7	9
1556	Mary 14	11	0	0	1	0	0	144	0	0	10	5	8	6
1577	James VI. 10	11	0	0	1	0	0	240	0	0	10	5	8	6
1579	——— 13	10	0	0	1	10	0	240	0	0	11	5	2	20
1597	——— 31	11	0	0	1	0	0	360	0	0	12	0	0	0
1601	——— 35	11	0	0	1	0	0	432	0	0	12	0	0	0
1633	Charles I. 9	11	0	0	1	0	0	492	0	0	13	2	7	11
1738	George II. 12	11	0	0	1	0	0	560	14	0	15	2	10	7

Copper money, or billion, generally known by the name of black money, was introduced into Scotland a century and a half before it appeared in England. The copper money of James II., III., IV., and V., were likely intended to pass for groats and half groats, the largest of which pieces is about the size of a modern shilling, but very thin. Queen Mary coined *placks*, or *four pennies*, and James

VI. coined *bodles*, or *two pennies*, and *hardheads* of *three pennies*. Charles I. did the same. Charles II. coined *pennies*, *bodles*, *placks*, and *bawbees*, the bawbees are dated 1677, 1678, and 1679; the others are seldom dated. William and Mary coined *bawbees* and *placks*.

Such as wish to see the old laws respecting the money and coin of the kingdom, may consult James I. par. 1. chap. 23.—James II. par. 8. chap. 33.—Ditto par. 13. chap. 58.—James IV. par. 2. chap. 17. —James VI. par. 1. chap. 17.—James VII. par. 1. session 2. chap. 24. for regulating the fineness and weight. Various acts were passed to prevent the exportation of coin; see James I. par. 3. chap. 49.—James II. par. 8. cap. 34.—James III. par. 8. cap. 65.—James IV. par. 6. cap. 68.—James VI. par. 15. cap. 249: and, to encourage the importation of bullion, various acts were framed. See James I. par. 13. cap. 143.—James III. par. 7. cap. 51.—James IV. par, 1. cap. 2.—and James VI. par. 16. cap. 9.

From the above account, and more especially from these two tables, it may be easily understood how much, not only the unlearned vulgar, but even learned and sensible men have blundered so egregiously in computing the proportional value of our ancient money; who, when they found it mentioned in old writings, or heard by report, that, for example, a boll of wheat was valued at ten, twelve, fourteen, &c., pennies per boll, a flagon of wine at two pennies, a hen at one half-penny, immediately think that the intrinsic value of these denominations of money was the same as now-a-days: alas! cry they, what a great scarcity of money must have been among us in those days, when things so dear now, might have been bought for so small a price. But, from what has been above set forth, it is clear, that things were quite otherwise; and particularly, that the penny, the shilling, and the pound, in the time of David I. and for a long time thereafter, was thirty-six times in James I.'s time, eighteen times in James II.'s time, nine times in Queen Mary's time, double the value almost that the same denominations are of intrinsic value at this day, or did exceed in that proportion the weight of bullion. And, that this whole affair might be more manifest, I thought it would not be improper to lay before the reader's view, the proportion betwixt our ancient money, and the money current among us at this day (1738), from some examples drawn from our ancient laws and other monuments.

A Table showing the ancient prices of some things, which are reduced to their value in our modern money.

	In ancient Scottish money.			Present Scottish money.		
	*lb.**	*sh.*	*d.*	£	*s.*	*d.*
Of a boll of wheat in David I.'s time, A.D. 1124	—	—	10	1	10	0
Of the same	—	1	—	1	16	0
Of the same	—	2	—	3	12	0

40

	In ancient Scottish Money.			Present Scottish money.		
	*lb.**	*sh*	*d.*	£	*s.*	*d.*
Of a gallon of wine	—	—	2	0	6	0
Of two ditto of ale	—	—	1	0	3	0
Of two sheep	—	1	4	2	8	0
Of a young cow or heifer	—	3	—	5	8	0
Of a cow	—	6	0	10	16	0
Of a hen in the time of John Baliol, 1292	—	—	1	0	1	6
Of one gallon and a half of ale (*c*)	—	—	2	0	3	0
Of a boll of wheat in the time of James I. 1424	—	2	—	1	18	0
Of a boll of rye, barley, and pease	—	1	4	1	5	4
——— of oats	—	—	6	0	9	6
Of an ox	—	6	8	6	6	8
Of a horse	—	13	4	12	13	4
Of a wedder in the time of James IV., 1489	—	3	—	0	15	10
Of a fed ox	—	15	—	3	19	3
Of a hundred salted keelings	3	—	—	15	17	1
Of a hundred haddocks and speldings	—	1	4	0	7	0
Of a pint of vinegar	—	—	8	0	3	6
Of a pint of honey	—	1	6	0	7	11
Two dozen of swine,	10	—	—	52	17	1
One boll of meal and barley promiscuously, in the time of James V. 1523	—	13	4	2	11	4
Of a hen	—	—	—	0	1	3
The salary of the fifteen senators of the college of justice, appointed by James V. when he first instituted that court, 1532	1400	—	—	5395	16	6
A pint of Bourdeaux wine imported by the east and north seas	—	—	10	0	2	6
Ditto Rochelle, imported by the said seas	—	—	8	0	2	0
Ditto Bourdeaux, imported by the west sea	—	—	8	0	2	0
Ditto Rochelle wine, imported by the same sea	—	—	6	0	1	6
A tame goose	—	1	4	0	4	0
Of a wild goose	—	2	—	0	6	0
Of a heron and of a swan	—	5	—	0	15	0
A black cock	—	—	6	0	1	6
A woodcock	—	—	4	0	1	0
A quail	—	—	2	0	0	6
A capon	—	1	—	0	3	0
A hen	—	—	8	0	2	0
A chicken	—	—	4	0	1	0
A pig or young sow	—	1	6	0	4	6

* *Sic.*

From these few examples, picked out of a great number, it is easy to determine the price of any other thing, having regard to the period, and the rise in the value of money, and by the help of these tables to reduce the price of it to our present money. From thence, also, we may be allowed to add, that it is plain, that one thing told by Hector Boece is not only false, but also incredible, that William King of Scots, when captive in England, agreed to pay to Henry II. *one hundred thousand pounds sterling*, which, at this day, would exceed three hundred thousand pounds sterling; for, I am persuaded, had all the money then in Scotland been scraped together, it would scarcely have made out a third part of that sum. It is true, indeed, William performed a great thing, who, according to the relation of the historians of both kingdoms, in order that he might redeem himself and his subjects, and restore them to their ancient state of freedom, told down to Richard I. son of that Henry, ten thousand merks of silver; which, in our present money at this day, would amount to twenty thousand pounds sterling.

From the foregoing tables, we may likewise judge, how grievous a famine happened in Scotland during the reign of James I. in the year 1435; since, as the Continuator of Fordun tells us, a boll of corn was sold for eighteen shillings Scots; and again, a more grievous one, in the beginning of James II.'s reign, in the 1438 and the following year, when, as the same author relates, the boll of corn got up to thirty shillings; for, by this means, the price of the former boll, being reduced to the value of our present money, must have been £10, 16s. Scots, the latter £18 Scots.

The total Amount of Money brought into the Bank of Scotland, at the Union, in the year 1707.

	Value in sterling money. £	s.	d
Of foreign silver money - - -	132080 :	17 :	00
Milled Scotish coins - - - -	96856 :	13 :	00
Coins struck by hammer - - -	142180 :	00 :	00
English milled coin - - - -	40000 :	00 :	00
Sum total of all these - -	411117 :	10 :	00

And this sum, no doubt, made up by far the greatest part of the silver coined money current in Scotland at that time; but it was not to be expected that the whole money of that kind could be brought into the bank; for the folly of a few misers, or the fear that people might have of losing their money, or various other dangers and accidents, prevented many of the old Scots coins from being brought in; a great part of these the goldsmiths, in after times, consumed by melting them down; some of them have been exported to foreign

countries ; a few are yet in private hands. No certain rule can be found, whereby to determine the precise quantity of gold coins in Scotland at that time ; however, there are a few which seem to convince us, that there was as great plenty of that as of silver, (balancing the price of each.) What principally makes for this opinion, is a few acts of the Mint of Scotland, which I have had occasion to see : these are what were made out from 16th December 1602 to 19th July 1606 ; and again, from 20th September 1611 to 14th April 1613 ; for it appears from these, that there was coined in Scotland, in these different periods, 51 stone, 11 pounds, nine ounces, twenty three penny-weights, sixteen grains of gold bullion ; but of silver, five hundred and ninety-six stone, seven pounds, thirteen ounces, twenty three penny-weights, twelve grains weight. By this means, according to the way of counting in those days, there were issued about £39,726 sterling ; but of silver only £38,172 sterling ; so that the gold coins struck in these years exceeded the silver in £1554 sterling value. I do not deny that this rule is liable to errors ; but we have none more certain for the present, and we here only seek for probability. From what has been said, we may be allowed to conjecture, without much absurdity, that the sum total of the money over all Scotland, at the time of the Union in 1707, both gold and silver, amounted to a sum not less than nine hundred thousand pounds sterling.

LIST of the Archbishopric's and Bishopric's within and previous to the

Names of the Sees.	Money. L.	s.	d.	Wheat. C.	B.	Bear. C.	B.	Meal. C.	B.	Oats. C.	B.
Bishopric of Aberdeen* - -	1653	16	9	3	8	35	9	24	4	8	3
Archbishopric of S. Andrews† -	2904	17	2	30	9	41	11	0	12	67	14
Bishopric of Brechin - -	410	5	0	0	11	61	5	123	3	0	15
——— Caithness‡ - -	1283	19	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
——— Dunblane - -	313	0	0	1	0	11	11	50	1	9	12
——— Dunkeld § - -	1505	10	4	4	0	37	6	64	12	28	2
——— Galloway‖ - -	1137	0	8	0	0	6	15	7	9	0	0
Archbishopric of Glasgow -	987	8	7	0	0	1	7	32	2	12	13
Bishopric of Murray - -	1649	7	7	0	10	77	6	0	0	2	8
——— Orkney - - -	251	2	6	0	0	66	10	0	0	0	0
——— Ross - - -	504	1	2	0	0	78	4	0	0	7	4
	12700	8	9	40	6	416	14	302	11	137	7

Argyll and the Isles are not enumerated; the Earl being one of and one of the ladies of the Bed-chamber to Queen Mary, they so the revenues of these two Sees, during the time of the first reformed had strong temporal motives to befriend Presbytery. In 1587, how- £281 : 6 : 8.

* In the money rent of this Bishopric, is included the price of the Salmon at £4 per barrel.

† From this rent there is allowed to the archbishop deductions for necessary payments; so that the money is brought down to £2460 17s.; wheat to 21 chalder 8 bolls 2 firlots; bear to 29 chalder 10 bolls, 2 pecks; oats to 51 chalder, 5 bolls 2 firlots.

‡ Although nothing but money is specified in the rental, it is certain that a variety of other payments were made to this see, which cannot now be ascertained.

§ The rental of Dunkeld is signed by Robert Creighton, the bishop, at *Cluny*, the 4th January 1561, with the following remarkable preamble:— "Heireftir followis the rental of the Bischoprick of *Dunkeld*, to be presentit befoir the Queenis Majestie and counsale, conforme to the offer maid to hir Grace be the Prelatis for that tyme present at the last con-

the Kingdom of Scotland, and their Revenues at Reformation, 1560.

Malt. C.	B.	Marts, Kine and Bullocks.	Mutton, Sheep & Wedders.	Capons. Dozens.		Poultry. Dozens.		Geese.	Muir-fowl. Doz.	Swine.	Salmon. L.	B.	Scraw-fish *d* and Kids.
0	0	46	262	65	6	119	0	55	19	17	12	10	
0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	11	6	16	10	18	0	0	0	9	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	268	0	
28	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	168	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	18	7	0	0	0	8	0	
0	0	200	0	0	0	18	1	0	0	0	0	0	30,000
0	0	40	169	10	0	57	0	0	0	0	0	0	132
28	9	286	431	87	0	209	6	73	19	17	453	1	30,132

the leaders of the Reformation, and the Countess being natural sister, managed matters between them, that no returns were ever made of hierarchy, nor after the Restoration to the Revolution. The family ever, the see of Argyll had a money income, it is said, of about

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ventioun in December *anno* 1561 : Quhilk wes in this effect, The Kirkmen and Prelatis of Scotland being restorit to thair levingis, rentis, possessionis and jurisdictionis ; thay grantit to give hir Grace, for the outsetting of hir Majesties honest effairis, the fourt pairt of thair levingis for ane zeir allanerlie : Protestand, &c and adherand to the Protestatioun maid in name of the haill Clergie and Kirkmen of Scotland, be ane maist Reverent Fadir in God, Jhone Archbischope of Sanctandrois.

‖ The rents of the Abbey of Tungland is annexed to the see of Galloway.

d Scrawfish is a year old Seath, dried in the sun without salt ; the Seath is a coarse grey sort of fish, as large as a big cod ; the Scrawfish is no larger than a whiteing.

LIST of the Principal Abbeys, &c., within Scot-

	Money. L.	s.	d.
Benedictine Abbey of Aberbrothick, in the shire of Angus	2488	3	0
Augustinian Priory of St. Andrews, in the shire of Fife	2237	18	1
Cistertian Priory, (a Nunnery) of St. Bothan's, in the Merse	47	2	4
——— Abbey of Balmerinoch, in the shire of Fife	704	2	10
Reformed Priory of Beauly, in the shire of Ross	136	13	4
Augustinian Priory of Blantyre, in the shire of Clydesdale	131	6	7
——— Abbey of Cambuskenneth, in the shire of Stirling	930	13	4
——— Priory of Cannabie, on Solway Frith (see Jedburgh)			
Carthusian Priory of Charter House of the town of Perth	509	6	2
Benedictine Priory of Coldinghame, in the Merse	818	10	9
Cistertian Abbey (a Nunnery,) of Coldstream, in the Merse*	201	0	0
——— of Kinloss, in Murray†	1152	1	0
Priory of Lismahago, in Clydesdale	1214	4	6
Tyronensian Abbey of Lindores, in Fife‡	2240	14	4
Augustinian Priory of St. Mary's Isle, in Galloway	307	11	4
Cistertian Abbey of Melrose, in Tiviotdale	1144	15	4
Augustinian Priory of Monimusk, in Aberdeenshire	400	0	0
Cistertian Abbey of New Abbey, or Sweet-Heart, in Galloway	682	0	0
——— of Newbottle, in Mid Lothian	1413	1	2
——— (a Nunnery) of North Berwick, in East ditto	556	17	8
Cluniac Abbey of Paisley, in the shire of Renfrew	2468	0	0
Minstry of Peebles	323	13	4
Augustinian Priory of Pittenweem, in Fife	412	12	6
Reformed Society of Pluscardy, in Murray§	525	10	1
Augustinian Priory of Portmoak, in the shire of Kinross	111	13	4
Cistertian Abbey of Saulseat, in Galloway	253	6	7
Augustinian Abbey of Scone, in Perthshire	1140	16	6
Minstry of Scotland Well, a Nunnery at Edinburgh,‖ a Priory at Strathfillan, and the Abbey of Tungland	361	6	8
Premonstratensian Priory of Whithorn, in Galloway	1016	3	4
	24134	6	1

* Mention is made of nine old women, sisters, in this nunnery.

† From this rental are the following deductions: "To fourteen Monkis for habit-silver, ilk Monk haiffand 50s. be zeir, £35. *Item*, for thair fische and flesche be zeir, ilk ain haiffand 8d. in the day for thair flesche, and 2d. in the day for thair fische, 93l. *Item*, for thair fyir, buttir, candill, spice and lentron meat, £12. *Item*, for braid and drink, ilk ane of them haiffand in the zeir 19 bolls, 1 firlot, 2 pecks, extending in the haill to 16 chalder, 15 bolls, 1 firlot."

‡ "Omittit grassumes, entrey-silver, zairds, fischeingis, capons, poultrey, caynes, customes, martis, carriages, and other dewties."

land, together with an account of their Revenues.

Wheat. C.	B.	Bear. C.	B.	Meal. C.	B.	Oats. C.	B.	Marts.	Mutton.	Capons. Dozens.	Poultry. Dozens.	Salmon. L.	B.	Cheese. Stone.	Geese.	Butter. Stone.
26	9	118	7	168	8	27	11	0	0	0	0	1	3	0	0	0
38	2	132	7	144	3	154	10	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
2	0	3	8	0	0	8	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
4	0	21	13	15	12	1	14	0	0	0	63	0	0	0	0	0
0	0	14	3	0	0	0	8	10	20	0	24	2	6	0	0	0
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
11	11	28	13	31	7	20	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
24	15	20	0	0	2	25	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
6	8	19	12	0	0	60	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
3	12	3	12	3	12	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
0	0	0	0	47	11	0	10	0	34	5	10	0	0	0	41	0
0	0	5	8	41	8	4	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
11	13	40	7	49	6	2	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
19	9	77	3	14	0	47	1	0	0	40	43	0	0	0	0	105
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
6	3	3	5	0	0	15	10	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
9	12	19	4	3	9	14	4	11	0	0	0	0	6	0	0	0
0	0	40	12	72	4	43	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	705	0	0
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
4	5	7	2	4	13	8	13	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1	1	51	5	0	0	5	13	0	0	0	0	30	0	0	0	0
0	0	1	12	0	0	4	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
0	0	7	8	13	8	6	0	0	0	13	0	0	0	0	0	0
16	0	73	13	62	0	18	3	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
0	8	3	1	5	12	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
0	0	15	15	51	15	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
186	12	709	10	730	2	468	7	21	54	58	140	35	3	705	41	105

§ This rental, signed by the *Oeconomus* in 1561, has among other deductions:—To the sustentatioun of fiyve monkis, ilk ane of thame in kething and habit-silver £16, and to ilk ane of thame in victual 1 chalder 5 bolls. And the wages to the master-cook, porter, baker, gardener, and malt-maker, is 14 bolls to each. Grassums, cains, customs, poultry, capons, &c. omitted.

‖ Siens, so named from *St. Kathrine of Sienna*, for whom these nuns pretended a great veneration.

	Money. L.	s.	d.
Benedictine Abbey of St. Colm's Inch, in the River Forth	426	0	0
Cluniac Abbey of Corfraguel, in Carrick - - -	466	13	4
Cistertian Abbey, in the shire of Angus - - -	1238	14	9
——————— of Culross, in the shire of Perth - -	768	16	7
——————— of Deer, in Buchan - - -	572	8	6
Premonstratensian Abbey of Dryburgh, in Tiviotdale -	913	19	1
Cistertian Abbey of Dundrenan, in Galloway - -	500	0	0
Benedictine Abbey of Dunfermline, in Fife * - -	2513	10	8
Priory (a Nunnery,) of Eccles, in the Merse † - -	647	13	8
Cistertian Priory (a Nunnery,) of Elcho, in Strathearn -	64	6	8
——— Abbey (a Nunnery) of Emanuel, in West Lothian	52	14	8
Minstry of Failford, in Kyle - - - -	174	6	7
Cistertian Abbey of Glenluce, (*i. e.* Vallis Lucis,) in Galloway	666	13	4
——————— (a Nunnery) of Haddington,‡ in East Lothian	308	17	6
Augustinian Abbey of Holyroodhouse, Edinburgh - -	2926	8	6
Premonstratensian Abbey of Holywood, in Nithsdale -	700	0	0
Augustinian Abbey of Jedburgh, Tiviotdale, to which were annexed Ristennet & Cannabie; the revenues of the three were - - - - - - - -	1274	10	0
Augustinian Abbey of Inchaffery, in Strathearn - -	666	13	4
Augustinian Priory of Inchmahomo, in Perthshire - -	234	0	0
Cistertian Abbey of Kelso, in Tiviotdale, and Lismahago, in Clydesdale, being connected with one another, their revenues are ranked and collected under the same head - - - - - - - -	1682	5	6
Fern, Ross-shire - - - - - -	165	7	1
Tyronensian Abbey of Kilwinning, in the shire of Ayr -	850	3	4
	17814	8	1

* In this abbey there were twenty-six monks, who had £394 in money, 9 ch. of wheat, 32 ch. of bear, and 64 ch. of oats.

† Caines, customes, grassumes, and uther dewties, capons, and poultry, are omitted.

‡ In this convent were eighteen nuns, each having in the year 4 bolls wheat, 3 bolls meal. For flesh and fish to each of them for every day in the year, 8*d*. And for cloaths in the year to each, 4*l*. This rental likewise observes, that grassums, carriages, capons, and poultry, are omitted.

Wheat. C.	B.	Bear. C.	B.	Meal. C.	B.	Oats. C.	B.	Malt. C.	B.	Mutton.	Capons. Dozens.	Poultry. Dozens.	Salmon. Barrels.	Cheese. Stone.	Butter. Stone.
2	8	8	9	14	14	11	12	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
0	0	18	7	37	0	4	15	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
7	13	75	10	73	4	25	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
3	3	15	10	0	0	13	12	0	0	32	7	26½	0	80	7
0	14	14	10	65	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1	14	24	7	22	15	3	15	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
28	11	102	15	15	0	61	6	29	1	0	0	0	0	0	34
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
0	0	3	0	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	24	0	0
0	0	3	0	15	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
7	11	40	1	11	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
27	10	40	9	0	0	34	15	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
0	0	0	9	19	14	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
2	2	23	0	36	10	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
0	0	7	0	59	13	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
0	0	91	4	91	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
0	0	30	2	0	0	1	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
0	8	14	1	67	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
82	14	512	13	536	5	137	5	30	1	32	7	26½	24	80	41

The better to understand the true value of the foregoing rentals, we shall here give the converted prices of the various items which were paid in kind when they were taken up.

In *Caithness*, the victual 20 merks the chalder. *Ross*, 16*l.* the chalder. *Murray*, alsmekill. *Aberdene*, 16*l.* the chalder. *Angus* and *Mearns*, wheat 24*l.* the chalder; bear 20*l.* the chalder; meal 20 merks the chalder. *Stratherne*, alsmekill as *Angus* and *Mearns*. *Fyfe*, wheat 26*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* the chalder; bear, 21*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* the chalder; meal 16*l.* the chalder; oats 20 merks the chalder. *Lothian* alsmekill as in *Fyfe*. *Merse* and *Teviotdale* alsmekill, with *Lothian* mett. *Nithisdale*, 16*l.* the chalder, with *Lothian* mett. *Galloway*, 16*l.* the chalder, with the same mett. *Kyle*, *Carrict*, and *Cunninghame*, 20*l.* the chalder of victual. *Cliddisdail*, *Renfrew*, and *Lenox*, 20*l.* the chalder of victual. *Stirline-shire*, 20*l.* the chalder of victual. *Orkney*, the last of cost, 20 merks; barrel of butter, 8*l.*; barrel of oyl, 5*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*; salmon, 4*l.* the barrel; mairts, 1*l.* 10*s.* the piece; wedders, 5*s.* the piece; poultry, 4*s.* the dozen; capons, 8*s.* the dozen; swine, from 7*s.* to 10*s.* the piece; geese, 1*s.* the piece.

In the Collector's books the converted prices are thus set down, *viz.* wheat, 1*l.* the boll; bear, 1*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* the boll; meal, 1*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* the boll; malt, 2*l.* the boll; rye, 2*l.* the boll; pease and beans, 2*l.* the boll; oats, 10*s.* the boll. Cost of *Orkney*, 5*l.* the last; victual of *Orkney*, 1*l.* 5*s.* the boll; butter, 18*l.* the last; oyl, 1*l.* the barrel; flesh of *Orkney*, 3*l.* the last. Mairts of *Aberdeen*, 2*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* the piece; ditto of *Beauly*, 2*l.* the piece; ditto of *Orkney*, 1*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* the piece Mutton of *Aberdeen*, 9s. the the piece; ditto of *Kinloss*, 6s. the piece. Capons of *Aberdeen*, 12*s.* the dozen; ditto of *Kinloss*, 6*s.* the dozen. Swine of *Aberdeen*, 1*l.* the piece; kidds, 1*s.* the piece; poultry, 4*s.* the dozen; geese, 1*s.* the piece; muirfowls, 4s. the dozen; cheese, 6*s.* 8*d.* the stone. By looking into the table of the value of Scotish money at various periods, it will be seen, that, at the time of the Reformation, when these rentals were taken, our money was double the value of what it fell to afterwards. Thus, in 1544, 9*l.* 2*s.* was only coined out of a pound of real silver; in 1556, 13*l.*; in 1565, 18*l.*; and in 1601, 36*l.*

THE END.

INTRODUCTION.

THE Tract which is here reprinted is believed to be unique: at any rate I have been unable to discover any other copy. The author's name is unknown: there is no date given on the title page; but on page 8 occurs the date 1738 in a parenthesis, and this is undoubtedly the year it was written in. The copy in my possession was purchased at the sale of the late James Maidment, in a miscellaneous lot. This gentleman, well known as a bibliophile, and as the Editor of "Scottish Ballads and Songs," and other works, has written on the cover: "By D. Webster." I have no knowledge of this supposed author, nor can I trace any known antiquarian of that name living in 1738. If any member of the Clarendon Historical Society can throw any light on this point, I shall be greatly indebted to him if he will communicate with me.

As many of the terms used would puzzle the ordinary English reader, a Glossary is added to the original pamphlet.

EDMUND GOLDSMID.

GLOSSARY

TO SCOTCH WORDS OCCURRING IN "SCOTIÆ NUMISMA."

ADHERAND, *i.e.* adhering.

ALLANERLIE.—only.

ALLAY.—Alloy.

ALSMEKILL.—As much.

BAWBEE.—A coin, value one half-penny, English.

The derivation of this name is involved in obscurity. Several traditional accounts of its origin are given by Jamieson and others, but in all probability it is merely a corruption of the French *Bas-billon*, debased money.

BEAR or BERE.—A coarse kind of Barley. (*Hordeum vulgare, Linnæus.*)

BILLON.—Debased money; usually applied to debased copper coin.

(French, *Billon*, debased gold or silver. See *Le Blanc, Traité Historique des Monnoies.*)

BODLE.—A copper coin of the value of two pennies Scots or the third part of one half-penny English.—*Ruddiman.*

The name is said to have been derived from a Mint-master called Bothwell.

BOLL.—A Scotch dry measure, equal to six imperial bushels, still in common use, though legally obsolete.

CARRIAGES.—Probably the feudal right of the superior to require free means of conveyance from his vassals or tenants.

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* For much of the information regarding Scotch antiquities, measures, &c., I am indebted to my friend, Gilbert Goudie, Esq., F.S.A. (Scot.)

CAYNE, CAIN, or CANE.—A duty paid by a tenant to his landlord in kind, as *Cane-cheese*, *Cane Fowls*, &c.

Supposed to be derived from the Mediæval Latin term *Canum*, tribute.

CHALDER.—A Scotch dry measure, containing Sixteen Bolls, or ninety-six imperial bushels.

COST.—Duty paid in kind.

A term used in the Orkney Islands.

DARIEN EXPEDITION.—A Bubble Company formed, in 1699, by a man named Paterson, to establish a Scotch Colony on the isthmus of Darien, and which proved unsuccessful, and was the cause of great discontent in Scotland.

See *Bright's History of England*, Vol. III., p. 865.

FIRLOT.—The fourth part of a Boll (Scotch dry measure) of Corn, or one and a half imperial bushels.

Anglo-Saxon *feorth* and *lot*, quarta portio, fourth part.

FISCHEINGIS.—Fishings, Fisheries.

FYIR.—Fire.

GRASSUM.—A sum paid by a tenant to his landlord or feudal superior on entering into possession.

HABIT-SILVER.—Clothing Allowance.

HAIFFAND.—Having.

HAILL.—Whole.

HARDHEAD.—A small coin.

The name is said to be derived from the French *hardie*, a small copper piece, struck by order of Philippe le Hardi, (1270-1286.)

ILK.—Each.

KEELING.—Cod.

(Icelandic *Keila*, haddock.)

KETHING.— ? KETHAL.—A robe or cassock.

LAST.—A measure, used specially in the Orkney and Shetland Islands.

(From the Sueo-Gothic *Laest.*)

LENTRON.—Lenten.

LEVINGIS.—Livings.

MART.—Cattle fattened, killed, and salted for winter use in former times in Scotland : a usage still existing in some remote districts. (Plural form, *Martis.*)

Derived from *Martinmas*, the Scotch November *term*, when the storing in this way for winter use took place.

MERK.—"An ancient Scottish Coin (silver), in value 13s. 4d. of our money (Scots) or 13⅓ pence sterling."—*Ruddiman*, quoted by *Jamieson.*

METT.—Measure.

MUIR-FOWL.—Red Grouse.

PISTOLE.—A gold coin, current also in Spain, Italy, and several parts of Germany, of the value of about 16s.

Italian, *Pistola*, a corruption of *Piastruola*, diminutive of *Piastra*, originally a thin plate of metal.

PLACK.—A small copper coin, equall to a third part of an English penny.—*Morysone.*

(French, *plaque.*)

PROTESTAND.—Protesting.

QUHILK.—Which.

SCRAWFISH.—A year old Seath, *which see.*

SEATH or SETHE.—The Coalfish. *(Gadus Carbonarius.)*

SPELDING, SPELDEN, or SPELDRIN.—A small fish, split and dried in the sun.

TESTOON.—A coin, varying in value.—*Cardonnel.*

(Old French, *teston*, capitatus nummus, headed money. From *teste.*)

UNICORN.—A gold coin, exhibiting a unicorn supporting a shield with the royal arms.

VICTUAL.—Grain.

WEDDER.—Wether.

ZAIRD, *i.e.* Yaird or Yard.

ZEIR.—Year.

GLOSSARY TO NAMES OF PLACES.

ABERBROTHICK.—Arbroath.

(This Abbey was founded by William the Lion in 1178, and dedicated to Thomas à Becket. The ruins are very massive and imposing.)

BALMERINOCH.—Balmerino.

CARRICT.—The district of Carrick, Ayrshire.

CLIDDISDAILL.—Clydesdale.

CORFRAGUEL.—A missprint for Corsraguel, or Crossraguel, in Carrick, Ayrshire.

CRAWFORD-MUIR.—Crawford-John, Lanark.

EMANUEL.—Now Manuel, in West Lothian.

INCHMAHOMO.—Inchmahome.

NEWBOTTLE.—Newbattle.

PLUSCARDY.—Pluscarden.

SANCTANDROIS.—St. Andrews.

"INTER FOLIA FRUCTUS."

[*TITLE PAGE OF FIRST EDITION.*]

A

MIRACULOUS VICTORY

Obtained by the Right Honorable

Ferdinando Lord Fairfax, against the Army under the Command of the Earl of Newcastle at Wakefield

in

YORKSHIRE.

Of the Enemy there was taken prisoners,

Generall Goring, Sir Thomas Bland, 2 Colonells, Sergeant Major Car, 13 Captains, 1500 Souldiers, 27 Colours of Foot, 3 Cornets of Horse, 4 Lieutenants, 15 Ensignes, and 1 Cornet, 4 pieces of Ordinance, all their Ammunition, and a great number of Armes, with the losse of common Souldiers.

Sent in two letters to the Honorable, W. Lenthall, Esq. Speaker in the House of Commons.

Also a letter of great consequence, which was found in Generall Gorings Chamber, which was sent to him by his father the Lord Goring.

ORdered by the Commons in Parliament, That publique Thanksgiving be too morrow the 28. of this instant May, given in all the Churches and Chappels of London, Westminster, Borough of Southwark, Suburbs and places adjacent for the great and good successe it hath pleased God to give the Forces under the Command of the Lord Fairfax at the taking in of Wakefield; and that the Letters relating that good successe, be read in the said Churches and Chappels.

H. Elsynge, Cler. Parl. D. Com.

May 27. Printed for Edw. Husbands. 1643.

"History is but the unrolled scroll of Prophecy."

—JAMES A. GARFIELD.

PRIVATELY PRINTED
FOR THE CLARENDON HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

1883.

[*TITLE PAGE OF SECOND EDITION.*]

A Fuller

RELATION

of that

MIRACVLOVS VICTORY

Which it pleased *God* to give unto

the PARLIAMENTS Forces under the Command of the Right Honourable the Lord *Fairefax*, against the Earle of *New-Castles* Army at *Wakefield* in *Yorkshire*.

Where they tooke Prisoners, Generall

Goring, Sir *Thomas Bland*, 2 Colonels, Sergeant Major *Car*, 13 Captaines, 1500 Souldiers, 27 Colours of Foot, 3 Cornets of Horse, 4 Lieutenants, 15 Ensignes, and 1 Cornet, 4 Pieces of Ordnance, all their Ammunition, and a great number of Armes, with the losse of seven Common Souldiers.

Sent in two Letters to the Honourable W. Lenthall, *Esq. Speaker in the House of Commons.*

Also a LETTER of great consequence, which was found in Generall *Gorings* Chamber, which was sent to him by his Father the Lord *Goring*.

Die Sabathii, 27 Maii. 1643.

ORdered by the Lords & Commons in Parl. that Publique Thanksgiving be to Morrow the 28. *of this instant May, given in all the Churches and Chappels of London and Westminster, Borough of Southwarke, Suburbes and places adjacent, for the great and good successe it hath pleased God to give the Forces under the Command of Lord* Fairefax, *at the taking in of* Wakefield ; *and that the Letters relating the good successe, be read in the said Churches and Chappels.*

John Brown Cler, Parliamentor.

May 29. Printed for *John Wright*, in the Old Bayley, 1643.

INTRODUCTION.

OF the tract here reprinted, two editions are known; the one dated May 27, 1643, the other May 29, 1643. They seem to be of equal rarity: indeed, I only know of four copies of the first and three of the second, although I have been at some pains to trace them. There are, no doubt, several more buried in the numerous private collections of Civil War tracts, although the owners, in many cases, are not aware of the pamphlet they are fortunate enough to possess. A copy of the first edition is in the possession of one of our members, J. R. Ford, Esq., of Leeds, and is the finest of the four copies I have seen. The edition here reprinted is the second, a copy of which is in the library of our energetic secretary, E. M. Goldsmid, Esq., F.R.H.S., of Edinburgh. It is, with the exception of the title-page, a word-for-word reprint of the first edition. I have thought it advisable to print the title-page of the *first*, as well as of the *second*, edition.

M. F. A.

The Introduction.

WHereas it hath too often been seene, that in a great appearance of outward means, we are over confident, and in the smallnesse or diminution of the same, we are too low and distrustful: so walking by sight and not by faith, the Divine Goodnesse and Wisdome, to weane us from this corruption, and to teach us the contrary Lesson, to walk by faith and not by sight, hath often wrought and given great Victories by little meanes and unexpected wayes.

A notable Pattern and Proofe whereof is now seene in the Victory given at Wakefield, *wherein God gave a happy successe upon great disadvantage and inequality, a far lesser number, even lesse by halfe, overcoming a greater in a fortified Towne, and the persons taken, far exceeding in number those that took them, and all this not with the losse of ten persons. As this calls for the eye of Faith, spiritually to discerne the great Power and Goodnesse of God, which gives the advantage of Victory on the side of the disadvantage in outward force; so it calls upon us to maintain & continue a course of Faith for the time to come, and by continually looking up unto God, and dependence on him, to expect from his Goodnesse and bounty the like blessing in other times of inequality and disadvantage. And as this ought to confirme our Expectations for the future, so both now and hereafter, when Gods strength doth so visibly appear in our weaknesse, we ought to give the whole Glory and Praise to his strength, and none to our owne weaknesse.*

Thankfulnesse for blessings past, being an Invitation of blessings to come, and God not failing to supply that, which he knowes will certainly turne to his owne Glory. Neither ought our Thanksgiving onely to sound it selfe in words, or in short thoughts and intentions, but it should especially be expressed in a hearty and reall conversion and conformity of soule and life to him, whose will ought to be the rule of our life, and whose service is the end of our being.

Let it also be further observed, That both this and other Victories have been given on that Day, which hath beene so much opposed by dissolute and Popish persons, even to a confutation of it by set discourses & practicall Prophanations.

And having given all the glory to God it is next just and commendable to take notice of those whom God hath vouchsafed to use in his service, as to encourage them in Gods work, and that Cause, which God doth maintaine by his own mighty and out stretched arm, thus made good in this extraordinary both Deliverance and Victory.

For my Honourable Friend William Lenthall, *Esq., speaker in the Commons House of Parliament.*

SIR,

VPon the sixth of this moneth I writ to you by a speciall Messenger which I hope is come to your hands; Presently after the dispatch of that Letter, the newes was brought me that the Earle of Newcastle had possessed himselfe both of Rotheram and Sheffeld, the Forces in Rotheram held out two dayes siege, and yeelded up the Towne upon treaty, wherein it was agreéd, that the Towne should not be plundered, and that all the Gentlemen, Commanders, and Souldiers, (six only excepted, that were specially named) leaving their Arms, should have free liberty to goe whether they pleased; But when the Enemy entred, contrary to their Articles, they have not only plundered the Towne, but have also made all the Commanders and Souldiers prisoners, and doe endeavour to constraine them to take up Arms on their party: The Commanders at Sheffeld, hearing of the losse of Rotheram, and seeing some of the Enemies Forces advanced in view of the Towne, they all presently disserted the place as not tenible with so few, against so potent an Army, and fled away with their Arms, some to Chesterfield, and some to Manchester. The losse of these two places hath much elated the Enemy, and cast down the spirits of the people in these parts, who daily see the Enemy encrease in power, and to gaine ground, and no succors come to them from any part: The Earle of Newcastles Army doe now range over all the southwest part of this Country, pillaging and cruelly using the wel-affected party, and the last weeke there is a Garrison of Horse and Foot layd at Knaresborough, where they begin to Fortifie the Town, and pillage and utterly ruine all the Religious people in those parts, and round about them: On Friday seven night last, Three Troopes and some other Forces, of which many were French

came from that Garrison, and pillaged Otley, and there barbarously used some honest women of that Towne, and in their retreat to Knaresborough, upon the open Forrest they took a man and a woman, the man they wounded and beat cruelly, and before his face ravished the woman. These particulars I repeat, that you may the more clearly discerne the miseries which this Country groans under; and here about Leeds, Bradford and Hallifax, being a montainous barren Country, the people now begin to be sensible of want, their last yeare provisions being spent, and the Enemies Garrisons stopping all provisions both of Corn and Flesh, and other necessaries that were wont to come from the more fruitfull Countries to them, their trade utterly taken away, their poore grow innumerable, and great scarcity of meanes to relieve them. And this Army which now lyes amongst them to defend them from the Enemy, cannot defend them from want, which causeth much murmure and lamentation amongst the people. And for the Army it selfe, it is so far in arreare, and no way appearing how they shall either be supplyed with money nor succors, as they grow very mutinous.

Yet upon Saturday last in the night, I caused to be drawne out of the Garrisons in Leeds, Bradford, Hallifax, and Howley, some horse, foot, and Dragooneers, in all about 1500 men, and sent them against Wakefield, commanded by my son, and assisted by Major Generall *Gifford*, sir *Henry Fowles*, and sir *William Fairfax*, with divers other Commanders, they appeared before Wakefield about four a clock on Sunday in the morning, where they found the Enemies (who had intelligence of their designe) ready to receive them: there was in the Towne Generall *Goring*, Serjeant Major General *Mackworth*, the Lord *Goring*, with many other principall Commanders, and eminent persons, with about 7. Troops of Horse, and six Regiments, contianing 3000. Foot, the Towne well fortified with workes, and foure peeces of Ordnance; yet our men, both Commanders and common Souldiers, went on with undanted courages, and notwithstanding the thick vollyes of small and great shot from the Enemies) charged up to their works; which they entred, seized upon their Ordnance, and turned them upon themselves, and pursued the Enemy so close as they beat quite out of the Towne the most part of the Horse, and a great number of the Foot, and made all the rest prisoners, and with them took 4. pieces of Ordnance, and all the Ammunition then in the Towne, and a great number of Arms, and amongst the prisoners

Generall *Goring* himselfe, with divers other Commanders, and other common souldiers, in all about fifteene hundred men, and twenty seven Colours of Foot, three Cornets of Horse, of which I send a more particular list inclosed; the more exact and particular relation of this service, as it is testified to me under the hands of the principall Commanders, imployed in that designe, I send you enclosed for your better information, and truely for my part I doe rather account it a miracle, than a Victory, and the glory & praise to be ascribed to God that wrought it, in which *I* hope *I* derogate nothing from the merits of the Commanders and souldiers, who every man in his place and duty, shewed as much courage and resolution as could be expected from men. When the Towne was thus taken, they found their number and strength too weake to keepe it and their prisoners, so they left the place and marcht away with their booty. In taking the Towne wee lost no man of note, and not above seven men in all, of which one was the Clerke of the store, and an Ensigne of the Foot, and one a Quartermaster of Horse, the rest common souldiers, but many of our men were shot and wounded; this overthrow hath much inraged the Enemies, who threaten a present revenge, and are drawing all their Forces this way to effect it. *I* perceive there are succors sent to Lincolnshire and other adjacent Countries, which if they were here, might be imployed to as much advantage for the publike safety, as in any place. *I* desire our condition may be seriously thought on by the House, and the Ayds often promised, may presently march away to us, and that Colonell *Cromxell*,* with his horse and foot may also be ordered to march to me, that being joyned together, *I* may be able to draw this Army into the Field and gaine fresh quarter for the souldiers, and furnish our selves with Powder, Arms, and Ammunition, which is now growne very scarce, and cannot be supplyed, untill the passage to Hull be forced open, which now is possessed by the Enemy. If such succours come not timely to us, we cannot long subsist, but must be forced to accept of dishonourable conditions; which besides the losse and ruine of this Country, will be a great disadvantage to the Generall safety, and withall, some course must be thought on to furnish some large proportion of money to defray the Souldiers Arrears, which *I* beseech you endeavour for them and me, that am

Leeds 23 *May*, 1643. Your most affectionate Friend and servant, FER. FAIRFAX.

* (Sic.)

I Send you inclosed a Letter from the Lord *Goring*, to his son Generall *Goring*, found in his Chamber at Wakefield, which will let the House see the Enemies great desire to have this Army ruined, that they might with their whole Force march Southwards.

SAturday night the 20 of *May*, the Lord Generall gave order for a party of a 1000 Foot, three companies of Dragooners, and eight Troops of Horse, to march from the Garrisons of *Leeds*, *Bradford*, *Hallifax*, and *Howley*, Sir *Thomas Fairefax* commanded in chiefe; The Foot were commanded by Serjeant Major Generall *Giffard*, and Sir *William Fairfax*. The Horse were divided into two bodies, foure Troops Commanded by Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, and the other foure Troops, by Sir *Henry Foules*; *Howley* was the Rendevouz where they all met on Saturday last about twelve a clock at night: about two next morning, they marcht away, and comming to *Stanley*, where two of the Enemies Troops lay with som Dragooners; that Quarter was beaten up, and about one and twenty Prisoners taken. About four a clock in the morning we came before *Wakefield*, where after some of their Horse were beaten into the Town, the Foot with unspeakable courage, beat the enemies from the Hedges, which they had lined with Muskettiers, into the Town, and assaulted it in two places, *Wrengate* and *Norgate*; and after an hour and a half fight, we recovered one of their Peeces, and turned it upon them and entered the Town at both places, at one and the same time: When the Baracadoes were opened, Sir *Thomas Fairfax* with the Horse, fell into the Town, and cleered the Street where Colonel *Goring* was taken, by Lieutenant *Alured*, Brother to Captain *Alured*, a Member of the House; yet in the Market place their stood three Troops of Horse, and Colonell *Lamptons* Regiment, to whom Major

Generall *Gifford* sent a Trumpet with offer of Quarter, if they would lay down their Arms, they answered they scorned the Motion; then he fired a Peece of their own Ordinance upon them, and the Horse fel in upon them, beat them out of the Town, and took al these Officers exprest in this inclosed list, Twenty seven Colours of Foot, three Cornets of Horse, and about 1500 Common Souldiers. The enemy had in the Town 3000 Foot, and seven Troops of Horse besides Colonell *Lamptons* Regiment, which came into the Town, after we had entred the Town: The enemy left behind them four Peeces of Ordnance, with Ammunition, which we brought away.

Thomas Fairfax.
Henry Foules.
John Gifford.
William Fairfax.
John Holman.
Robert Foules.
Titus Leighton.
Francis Talbott.

Prisoners Commanders taken at

Wakefield, May 21, 1643.

GEnerall Goring.
Sir Thomas Bland, Lieutenant Colonell to Sir George Wentworth.
Lieutenant Colonel St. George.
Lieutenant Col. Mackmoyler.
Sergeant Major Car.
Captaine Car.
Capt. Knight.
Capt. Wildbore.
Capt. Rudstone.
Capt. Pemberton.
Captaine Croft.
Capt. Ledgard.
Capt. Lashsly.
Capt. Kailey.
Capt. Nuttall.
Capt. Lieutenant Benson.
Sergeant Major Carnaby, and Capt. Nuttall left wounded in Wakefield, upon their ingagements to be true Prisoners.

Lieutenants.

Mouckton. } { Wheateley.
Thomas. } { Kent.
Nicholson.

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Ensignes.

Squire.	Car.
Vavasour.	Gibson.
Maskew.	Smaythwait.
Lampton.	Ballinson.
Ducket.	Watson.
Stockhald.	Smelt.
Baldwinson.	Haliburton.
Davis.	Cornet Wivel.

AFter this letter was concluded our men took *Wakefield*, of which I send a particular Relation inclosed, and a List of the Prisoners and other Booty taken; If we had now any Force of Horse to joyn with us, we should in all probability utterly rout the Enemies in this Countrey, or shut them up in holds, which if it do not speedily come, we shall be in danger to perish, if the Enemy draw his whole Force upon us.

I had forgotten in the Letter to the Speaker to mention the new Commissions granted by the King, wherein His Majesty, according to the known Lawes of the Land (as all things are said to be done) gives liberty to the parties to whom the Commissions are directed, to Plunder, and to take mens Estates, so as they account for the moitie of the profit to His Majesty; this is confessed by the Captains now prisoners here.

From Leeds 23 May 1643. Your Servant *Thomas Stockdell.*

It is now about three weeks since we had any Letter from you, or any advertisements from the South.

GEORGE,

I Saw what you wrote to H. Jermine, and finde that the businesse will be put on that way; But I am of opinion that your Generall wil never consent to it, the latter way of dividing his Force,

unlesse it be in the County where he will abide himself, this will be tried to morrow at his returne hither, where the Queen expects him. In the intrim, if it were possible to give the Enemy any such knock, or considerable disturbance to the Country round about them, which hath not yet felt the miserie of their Neighbours. I would not doubt but that the Treaty might be resumed againe, by which means and by no other, your Army may be set at liberty to change your stations, and do something that may be of consequence indeed, *I* pray you think seriously hereof, and once in your life follow the advice of your best friend and dearely loving Father.

April 17, 1643. *Goreinge.*

After I had sealed my Letter, I was advised to advertise you, that the Lord Fairefax *never believed you would looke into the Parts where you now are, but intended to draw back to the place from whence you came, which made him so lofty in his conditions, wherefore if you can (as my Authors propose) get betwixt Bradford and Leedes, you will so annoy, devert, and separate them in all their designes, as you may be sure to carry Hallifax and Bradford on that hand, or Leedes on the other. Take this to heart, and let Generall King, with my humble service know thus much, not as new to him and the rest of you, but as that which all the wisest and most knowing men in the Countrey advise and hope; This will so hare them, and satisfie this Countrey, and will give you such other advantages, as will render happy and glorious too, whereas on the contrary all will fall flat both in power and reputation past expression. And her Majesty, either unprovided of such a Convoy from thence, as is fit for hers and the Kings present occasions, or else leave this Countrey naked to the Tyranny of the mercilesse enemy, contrary to contract, and all due Iustice. This is the opinion of others, far better able to advise then he that so heartily prayes for you, and is*

Yours

Goreing.

Cudgell them to a Treaty, and then let us alone with the rest.

Yorke, 17 April, 1643.

FINIS.

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"INTER FOLIA FRUCTUS."

A

LETTER

FROM

A Gentleman in *Boston*,

TO

Mr. GEORGE WISHART,

One of the Ministers of EDINBURGH,

Concerning the

State of Religion

In NEW-ENGLAND.

EDINBURGH:
Printed in the Year MDCCXLII.

"History is but the unrolled scroll of Prophecy."
—JAMES A. GARFIELD.

PRIVATELY PRINTED
FOR THE CLARENDON HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

1883.

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This edition is limited to *One Hundred and Twenty* large paper and *Four Hundred* small paper copies.

To the READER.

THE following Account of the State of Religion in New-England, *I cannot but depend upon as certain, from the Knowledge I have of the Candor and Judgment of the Person who writes it: I have therefore thought myself obliged to communicate it to the World, in Justice to the Cause of Truth, by which the Interests of real Religion can never suffer; and I am the rather induced to this, to prevent the like Extravagancies from ever prevailing with us under a Name of Religion. Though my Correspondent is one whom I never saw, having never been in this Part of the World; yet I know him to have one of the best Characters in the Country where he lives, for good Understanding, Integrity, and sincere Regard to Religion; and by such Accounts of him, which I had heard, was our Correspondence introduced. The Opposition he shows to that Spirit of Bigotry, which would damn all those who don't believe all Points of* Calvinism, *is by no means to be constructed to the Prejudice of his own way of thinking as to these Points: I have occasion to know, that, as he is not unacquainted with the Controversies in Divinity, he is* Calvinist *in his Judgment; though far from confining Christianity to the distinguishing Doctrines of* Calvinism. *In publishing the Letter, I have made no sort of Alterations, save the leaving out some things which are personal, and on which the rest has no Dependence: some Words which I believe might have been altered with the Writer's own Approbation, I chused to keep as they were, that I might be at full Liberty to declare it to be a genuine Copy.*

Edinburgh, Nov. 8.
8. 1742.

GEORGE WISHART.

A LETTER, &c.

Reverend Sir,

I Perceive by a printed Letter from a Friend in *Edinburgh*, containing *Excerpts of Letters concerning the Success of the Gospel in these Parts*, that marvellous Accounts have been sent Abroad of a most glorious Work of Grace going on in *America*, as begun by Mr *Whitefield*, and helpt forward by those in his way of preaching and acting. I should be glad there had been more Truth in those Accounts. Some of the Things related are known Falsehoods, others strangely enlarged upon; and the Representations, in general, such, as exhibite a wrong Idea of the *religious* State of Affairs among us. I had Thoughts of sending you the needful Corrections of that *Pamphlet*; but my Circumstances being such, at present, as not to allow of this, must content myself with giving you the following *summary* Narration of things as they have appeared among us.

The Minds of People in this Part of the World, had been greatly prepossest in Favour of Mr *Whitefield*, from the Accounts transmitted of him, from time to time, as a *Wonder of Piety*, *a Man of God*, so as *no one was like him*: Accordingly, when he came to *Town*, about two Years since, he was received as though he had been an *Angel of God*; yea, *a God come down in the likeness of Man*. He was strangely flocked after by all Sorts of Persons, and much admired by the *Vulgar*, both *great* and *small*. The *Ministers* had him in Veneration, at least in Appearance, as much as the People; encouraged his Preach-

ing, attended it themselves every Day in the Week, and mostly *twice* a Day. The grand Subject of Conversation was Mr *Whitefield*, and the whole Business of the Town to run, from Place to Place, to hear him preach: And, as he preach'd under such uncommon Advantages, being high in the Opinion of the People, and having the Body of the Ministers hanging on his Lips, he soon insinuated himself still further into the Affections of Multitudes, in so much that it became dangerous to mention his Name, without saying something in commendation of him.

His Reception as he past through *this* and the neighbouring Governments of *Connecticut* and *New York*, till he came to *Philadelphia*, was after much the same Manner; save only, that he met with no Admirers among the *Clergy*, unless here and there one, any where but in *Boston:* And, whether the Ministers here in general, really thought better of him than they did elsewhere, I will not be too positive to affirm. 'Tis possible, they might act as tho' they had a great Veneration for him, and so as to lead People into such an Apprehension, from *Cowardice*, *Affectation of Popularity*, or a *rigid Attachment to some Sentiments in Divinity*, they might imagine there was now an Advantage to establish and propagate: And I would not undertake to prove, that they might none of them be under an undue Influence from some or other of these Motives.

Much began to be now said of a *glorious Work of God* going on in the Land. *Evening-lectures* were set up in one Place and another; no less than six in this Town, *four* weekly, and *two* monthly ones, tho' the Town does not consist of above 5000 Families at the largest Computation. At some of these Lectures, it was common to mention Mr *Whitefield* by Name, both in the *Prayers* and *Sermons*; giving God Thanks for sending such an *extraordinary* Man among us, and making him the Instrument of *such extraordinary Good* to so many souls. He was indeed spoken of, as *the Angel flying through Heaven with the Everlasting Gospel*, and such Honours sacrificed to him as were due to no meer Man: Nay, to such a Height did this Spirit rise, that all who did not express a very high Thought of Mr *Whitefield*, were lookt upon with an evil Eye; and as to those who declared their Dislike of what they judged amiss of the Times, they were stigmatised as *Enemies of God and true Religion*; yea, they were openly represented, both from the *Pulpit* and the *Press*, as in

danger of committing *the Sin against the Holy Ghost*, if not actually guilty even of this *unpardonable* Sin.

And here you will doubtless be disposed to enquire, what was the *great Good* this *Gentleman* was the Instrument of.

In answer whereto, I freely acknowledge, wherever he went he generally moved the *Passions*, especially of the *younger* People, and the *Females* among them; the Effect whereof was, a great Talk about Religion, together with a Disposition to be perpetually hearing Sermons, to neglect of all other Business; especially, as preach'd by those who were Sticklers for the *new Way*, as it was called. And in these things *chiefly* consisted the Goodness so much spoken of. I deny not, but there might be here and there a Person stopp'd from going on in a Course of Sin; and some might be made really better: But so far as I could judge upon the nicest Observation, the Town, in general, was not much mended in those things wherein a Reformation was greatly needed. I could not discern myself, nor many others whom I have talked with, and challenged on this Head, but that there was the same Pride and Vanity, the same Luxury and Intemperance, the same lying and tricking and cheating, as before this Gentleman came among us. There was certainly no *remarkable* Difference as to these things: And 'tis vain in any to pretend there was. This, I am sure of, there was raised such a Spirit of bitter, censorious, uncharitable judging, as was not known before; and is, wherever it reigns, a Scandal to all who call themselves Christians: Nor was it ever evident to me, but that the greatest Friends to Mr. *Whitefield* were as much puffed up with Conceit and Pride as any of their Neighbours; and as to some of them, and the more eminent too, I verily believe they possess a *worse Spirit* than before they heard of his Name, and it had been as well for them if they had never seen his Face.

But I have only entered as yet upon that Scene of Things, which has made so much Noise in the Country. A Number of Ministers in one Place and another, were by this Time formed into Mr. *Whitefield's* Temper, and began to appear and go about preaching, with a Zeal more flaming, if possible, than his. One of the most famous among these was Mr. *Gilbert Tennent*, a Man of no great Parts or Learning; his preaching was in the *extemporaneous* Way, with much

Noise and little Connection. If he had taken suitable Care to prepare his Sermons, and followed Nature in the Delivery of them, he might have acquitted himself as a *middling* Preacher; but as he preached, he was an *awkward Imitator* of Mr. *Whitefield*, and too often turned off his Hearers with *mere Stuff*, which he uttered with a Spirit more bitter and uncharitable than you can easily imagine; all were *Pharisees*, *Hypocrites*, *carnal unregenerate Wretches*, both Ministers and People, who did not think just as he did, particularly as to the Doctrines of *Calvinism;* and those who opposed him, and the Work of God he was sure he was carrying on, would have opposed *Christ Jesus himself* and *his Apostles*, had they lived in their Day. This Gentleman came from *New-Brunswick* in the *Jersies* to *Boston*, in the Middle of Winter, (a Journey of more than 300 Miles) to *water the good Seed sown by Mr.* Whitefield in this Place. It was indeed at Mr. *Whitefield*'s Desire, and in consequence of a Day of *Fasting and Prayer*, kept on purpose to know the Mind of God as to this Matter, that he came among us; the *Ministers in the Town*, though *fourteen* in number, being thought insufficient to carry on the *good Work* he had begun here in the Hearts of People. And though the Design this Gentleman professedly came upon, was a bare-faced Affront to the *Body of the Ministers*, yet not only the People, (which is not to be wondred at) but some of the Ministers themselves admired and followed him, as much as they had done Mr. *Whitefield* before him; and here he was, by their Encouragement, a great Part of the Winter, preaching every Day in the Week, to the taking People off from their Callings, and the introducing a Neglect of all Business but that of hearing him preach. He went from *Boston* to the *eastward*, to visit the Places where Mr. *Whitefield* had been; and on his Return home passed through the Country, preaching every where as he went along, in the same Manner, and with the same Spirit he did here in *Boston.*

And now it was, that Mr. *Whitefield's* Doctrine of *inward Feelings* began to discover itself in Multitudes, whose *sensible Perceptions* arose to such a Height, as that they *cried out*, *fell down*, *swooned away*, and, to all Appearance, were like Persons in *Fits;* and this, when the Preaching (if it may be so called) had in it as little well digested and connected good Sense, as you can well suppose. Scores in a Congregation would be in such Circumstances at a Time; nay some hundreds in some Places, to the filling the Houses of Worship with Confusion not to be expressed in Words, nor indeed conceived of by

the most lively Imagination, unless where Persons have been Eye and Ear witnesses to these Things. Though I may add here, that to a Person in possession of himself, and capable of Observation, this surprising Scene of Things may be accounted for: The *Speaker* delivers himself, with the *greatest Vehemence* both of *Voice* and *Gesture*, and in the most *frightful Language* his Genius will allow of. If this has its intended Effect upon *one* or *two weak Women*, the Shrieks catch from one to another, till a great Part of the Congregation is affected; and some are in the Thought, that it may be too common for those *zealous in the new Way to cry out themselves*, on purpose to move others, and bring forward a *general Scream*. *Visions* now became common, and *Trances* also, the Subjects of which were in their own Conceit transported from Earth to Heaven, where they saw and heard most glorious Things; conversed with *Christ* and *holy Angels;* had opened to them the *Book of Life*, and were permitted to read the names of persons there, and the like. And what is a singular Instance (so far as I remember) of the working of Enthusiasm, *laughing*, *loud hearty laughing*, was one of the Ways in which our *new Converts*, almost every where, were wont to join together in expressing their Joy at the Conversion of others.

'Tis scarce imaginable what Excesses and Extravagancies People were running into, and even encouraged in; being told such Things were Arguments of the *extraordinary Presence of the Holy Ghost* with them. The same Houses of Worship were scarce emptied Night nor Day for a Week together, and unheard of Instances of supposed Religion were carried on in them, some would be *praying*, some *exhorting*, some *singing*, some *clapping their Hands*, some *laughing*, some *crying*, some *shrieking and roaring out;* and so invincibly set were they in these Ways, especially when encouraged by any Ministers, (as was too often the Case) that it was a vain Thing to argue with them, to shew them the Indecency of such Behaviour; and whoever indeed made an Attempt this Way, might be sure aforehand of being called an *Opposer* of the *Spirit*, and a *Child of the Devil.*

At these Times there were among the People what we call here EXHORTERS; these are such as are esteemed to be *Converts* in the *new Way*. Sometimes they are *Children*, *Boys* and *Girls*, sometimes *Women;* but most commonly *raw*, *illiterate*, *weak* and *conceited young*

Men, or *Lads*. They pray with the People, call upon them to come to Christ, tell them they are dropping into Hell, and take upon them what they imagine is the Business of preaching. They are generally much better thought of than any Ministers, except those in the *new Way*, I mean by the Friends to the *Extraordinaries* prevalent in the Land; and they are the greatest promoters of them. 'Tis indeed at the *Exhortations* of these poor ignorant Creatures, that there is ordinarily the most Noise and Confusion: And what may be worth a particular Remark, 'tis *seldom* there are any great Effects wrought, till the Gloominess of the Night comes on. It is in the *Evening*, or more late in the *Night*, with only a *few Candles* in a *Meeting-house*, that there is the *screaming* and *shrieking* to the greatest Degree; and the Persons thus affected are generally *Children*, *young People*, and *Women*. Other Instances there may have been, but they are more rare; these bear the chief Part.

I shall here insert a Paragraph of a Letter sent me by a Friend living at *Newhaven*, the seat of one of our *Colleges*, a Gentleman of known Integrity and Veracity, giving an Account of the Managements of one of the Preachers of Mr. *Whitefield's* making, with the Appearance following thereupon. Says he, "After the Conclusion "of the Exercises usual in our religious Assemblies, he came down "from the *Pulpit* into the *Deacon's* Seat. His Exercises were, 1. "*Short Prayers;* wherein he used very uncommon Expressions, and "such as had no Tendency, at least in my Mind, to excite Devotion; "which he delivered with a boisterous Voice, and in a Manner to me "very disagreeable. 2. *Singing Psalms* and *Hymns;* which he him-"self repeated with an awful Tone and frightful Gestures. 3. "*Exhorting*, as they called it: to which many *Laymen* were admitted "as *Assistants*. In performing these Exercises they observed no "stated Method, but proceeded as their present Thought or Fancy "led them: And by this means the Meeting-house would be filled "with what I could not but judge great Confusion and Disorder; for "the whole House would many times seem to be in a perfect Hub-"bub, and People filled with Consternation. These Meetings they "would continue till 10, 11, 12 o'Clock at Night; in the midst of "them sometimes 10, 20, 30, and sometimes many more would *scream* "and *cry out*, or send forth the most *lamentable Groans*, whilst others "made great Manifestations of Joy, by *clapping their Hands*, uttering "*extatick Expressions*, *singing Psalms*, and *inviting* and *exhorting*

"others. Some would *swoon away* under the Influence of distressing "Fears, and others *swallowed up with insupportable Joy.* While "some were *fainting*, others laboured under *convulsive Twitches of* "*Body*, which they said were involuntary. But in vain shall I pre- "tend to describe all the Proceedings at those Meetings. But what "appeared to me most dangerous and hurtful was, that very much "Stress was laid on these *Extraordinaries*, as tho' they were *sure* "*Marks*, or, at least *sufficient Evidences* of a just Conviction of Sin on "the one Hand; or, on the other, of that Joy which there is in "believing, and so of an Interest in the Favour of God."

You may be ready perhaps to think I have here given you a romantick Representation of Things; but it is the real Truth of the Case without a Figure; yea, this has been the Appearance in all Parts of the Land more or less, and so known to have been so, that there is no room for Debate upon the Matter: Nay, those who are Friends to the *new Way* were *once* so far from being ashamed of these Things, that they boasted of them, and entertained an ill Opinion of all who did not speak of them as *Evidences* of the *wonderful Power of the Spirit of God:* I say, they *at first* boasted of these Things, and some of them do so still; though the Generality have begun, for some time, to speak publickly of the *Subtility of Satan*, to tell People he may appear as *an Angel of Light*, and to warn them against being carried away by his Devices. Nay Mr. *Tennent* himself, one of the main Instruments of all our Disorders, has, in a couple of Letters to some of his Friends, published in the *Prints* (*a*), expressed his Fears

(*a*) As the *Caledonian Mercury*, in which is republished one of Mr. *Tennent's* Letters above referred to, may not be in every Body's Hands, the Letter, with the Title prefixed to it in the *Boston Evening-Post*, *July* 26. 1742. is as follows:

Extract of a Letter from the Rev. Mr. G. Tennent, *to the Rev. Mr.* Dickinson *of the* Jerseys, *the Original of which is in the Hands of the Rev. Mr.* Clap, *Rector of* Yale-College, *and was lately given him by Mr.* Dickinson.

Dear Sir,

I Have had many afflicting Thoughts about the Debates that have subsisted for some time in our Synod: I would to God the Breach were healed, if it was the Will of the Almighty.—As for my *own* Part, wherein I have mismanaged in doing what I did;—I do look upon it to be my Duty, and should be willing to acknowledge it in the openest manner.—I cannot justify the *excessive Heat of Temper* which has sometimes appeared in my Conduct.—I have been of late (since

lest the Churches should be undone with a *Spirit of Enthusiasm*, and *these Exhorters* which have risen up everywhere in the Land. He seems indeed to have quite turned about: The Reason whereof may be this; the *Moravians* who came to *Philadelphia* with Count *Zinzendorf*, have been among his People, and managed with them as he did elsewhere, and brought the like Confusion among them; and now he cries out of Danger, and expresses himself much as those did, whom before he had sent to the Devil by wholesale.

Various are the Sentiments of Persons about this *unusual Appearance* among us. Some think it to be a *a most wonderful Work of God's Grace;* others a *most wonderful Spirit of Enthusiasm;* some think there is a *great deal of Religion*, with some *small Mixture* of Extravagance; others a *great deal of Extravagance* with some *small Mixture* of that which may be called *good;* some think the *Country* was never in such a *happy* State on a *religious* account, others that it was never in a *worse.*

For my self, I am among those who are clearly in the Opinion, that there never was such a *Spirit* of *Superstition* and *Enthusiasm* reigning in the Land before; never such *gross Disorders* and *barefaced*

I returned from *New-England)* visited with much spiritual Desertions, Temptations, and Distresses of various kinds, coming in a thick, and almost continual Succession, which have given me a greater Discovery of myself than I think I ever had before. These Things, with the Trials I have had of the *Moravians*, have given me a clear View of the Danger of everything which tends to *Enthusiasm* and *Division* in the visible Church.—I think that while the enthusiastical *Moravians* and *Long-beards*, or *Fickists*, are uniting their Bodies, (no doubt to increase their Strength, and render themselves more considerable) it is a shame that the Ministers (who are in the main of sound Principles of Religion) should be divided and quarrelling.—Alas for it! my Soul is sick of these things: I wish that some scriptural healing Methods could be fallen upon to put an End to these confusions. Sometimes since I felt a Disposition to fall upon my Knees, if I had Opportunity, to intreat them to be at Peace. I add no more at present, but humble and hearty Salutations, and remain with all due Honour and Respect,

Your poor worthless Brother
in the Gospel-Ministry,
G. TENNENT.

New-Brunswick,
Feb. 12. 1741-2.

P. S. I break open the Letter myself to add my Thoughts about some extraordinary Things in Mr *Davenport's* Conduct.—As to his making his Judgment about the *internal* State of Persons, or their *Experience*, a Term of Church-fellow-

Affronts to *common Decency;* never such *scandalous Reproaches* on the *Blessed Spirit*, making him the Author of the greatest *Irregularities* and *Confusions:* Yet, I am of Opinion also, that the Appearances among us (so much out of the ordinary Way, and so unaccountable to persons not acquainted with the History of the World) have been the Means of awakening the Attention of many; and a good Number, I hope, have settled into a truly *Christian* Temper: Tho' I must add, at the same time, that I am far from thinking, that the Appearance, in *general*, is any other than the Effect of *enthusiastick Heat.* The Goodness that has been so much talked of, 'tis plain to me, is nothing more, in general, than a *Commotion in the Passions.* I can't see that Men have been made *better*, if hereby be meant, their being formed to a nearer Resemblance to the *Divine Being* in *moral Holiness.* 'Tis not evident to me, that Persons, generally, have a better Understanding of Religion, a better Government of their Passions, a more Christian Love to their Neighbour, or that they are more decent and regular in their Devotions towards God. I am clearly of the Mind, they are worse in all these Regards. They place their Religion so much in the *Heat* and *Fervour* of their *Passions*, that they too much neglect their *Reason* and *Judgment:* And instead of being

ship, I believe it is *inscriptural*, and of awful Tendency to rend and tear the Church: It is bottomed upon a false Base, *viz.* That a certain and infallible Knowledge of the good Estate of Men, from their Experience, is attainable in this Life. The Practice is *schismatical*, in as much as it sets up a *new Term* of Communion which CHRIST has not fixed.

The late Method of setting up *separate Meetings*, upon the *supposed Unregeneracy* of Pastors of Places, is *enthusiastical*, *proud*, and *schismatical.* All that fear GOD ought to oppose it as a most dangerous Engine to bring the Churches into the most damnable Errors and Confusions. The Practice is built upon a twofold false Hypothesis, *viz.* Infallibility of knowledge; and that unconverted Ministers will be used as Instruments of no good to the Church.

The Practice of *openly exposing Ministers*, who are supposed to be unconverted in publick Discourse, by particular Application of such Times and Places, serves only to provoke them, (instead of doing them any good) and to declare our own Arrogance. It is an unprecedented, divisial, and pernicious Practice; it is a lording it over our Brethren, a Degree superior to what any Prelate has pretended since the coming of CHRIST, (so far as I know) the *Pope* only excepted; though I really do not remember to have read that the *Pope* went on at this Rate.

The sending out of *unlearned Men* to *teach others*, upon the Supposition of their Piety, in ordinary Cases, seems to bring the Ministry into Contempt; to cherish

more kind and gentle, more full or Mercy and good Fruits, they are more bitter, fierce and implacable. And what is a *grand discriminating Mark of this Work*, where-ever it takes place, is, that it makes Men *spiritually proud* and *conceited* beyond Measure, infinitely *censorious* and *uncharitable*, to *Neighbours*, to *Relations*, even the nearest and dearest; to *Ministers* in an especial Manner; yea, to all Mankind, who are not as they are, and don't think and act as they do: And there are few places where *this Work* has been in any *remarkable* manner, but they have been filled with Faction and Contention; yea, in some, they have divided into Parties, and openly and scandalously separated from one another.

Truly the Accounts sent Abroad, were sent too soon; too soon, I am satisfied, to reflect Honour upon the Persons who wrote them: And they bewray such a want of Judgment, as I was really sorry to see them falling into. There are few Persons now, perhaps none but such as are evidently over-heated, but begin to see that Things have been carried too far, and that the Hazard is great, unless God mercifully interpose, lest we should be over-run with *Enthusiasm*. And to speak the plain Truth, my Fear is, lest the End of these things should be *Quakerism* and *Infidelity*: These we have now chiefly to guard against.

A particular Account of one Mr *James Davenport*, with his *strange Conduct* in *Town* and *elsewhere*, I doubt not would have been agreeable: But I have exceeded already. He is the *wildest Enthusiast* I ever saw, and acts in the wildest manner; and yet, he is vindicated by some in all his Extravagancies.

I now beg Pardon, Sir, for thus trespassing upon your Patience.

Enthusiasm, and bring all into Confusion: Whatever fair Face it may have, it is a most perverse Practice.

The Practice of *singing in the Streets* is a Piece of *Weakness*, and *enthusiastical Ostentation*.

I wish you Success, *dear Sir*, in your Journey: My soul is grieved for such *enthusiastical Fooleries*, they portend much mischief to the poor Church of God, if they be not seasonably checked: May your Labours be blessed for that End.

I must also declare my Abhorence of all Pretence to *immediate Inspiration*, or following *immediate Impulses*, as an enthusiastical perillous *ignis fatuus*.

T. G.

82

As Mr. *Whitefield* has been in *Scotland*, and *human Nature* is the *same every where;* this Narration of the Effects he has been the Instrument of producing here, may excite your Zeal to guard the People in time against any such Extravagancies, if there should be Danger of them where you may be concerned. I am,

Reverend Sir,

With all due Regard, &c.

Boston, August 4.
1742.

POSTSCRIPT.

ONE thing I forgot to mention, which yet is worthy of Note. It is, That in many Places, where Persons can't any longer *scream out* for themselves, supposing themselves to have got into a *converted State*, they will *scream* and *cry out*, and make as great a Noise as they can on the account of others, for their *unconverted Neighbours*, that are in a State of Sin, and going to Hell. This begins now to be common; it has been practised in many Places.

FINIS.



"INTER FOLIA FRUCTUS."

A BRIEF DISCOVERY

OF THE

TRUE MOTHER

OF THE

Pretended Prince of Wales,

KNOWN BY THE NAME OF

MARY GREY.

TO WHICH IS ADDED—

A further Discovery of the late *Conspiracy* against his Majesties Sacred Person, and Government, &c.

As laid before the King, &c., and Deposed to a *Committee* of *Parliament.*

By WILLIAM FULLER,
Gent., sometime *Page* of *Honour* to the late *Queen* in *France.*

London, printed for the Author,
Anno Dom. 1696.

"History is but the unrolled scroll of Prophecy."
—JAMES A. GARFIELD.

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TO HIS

HIGHNESS

THE

DUKE OF GLOCESTER.

SIR,

For *this* Tender *of my Duty* to Your Highness, *in a Publick* Dedication, I *can only make this Plea for my Presumption;* viz. *by telling* You, *That the Royal Blood that fills* Your Rich Veins, *and the whole concentring Hopes of Three Kingdoms that wait* Your Illustrious Birth, *gave* You *a Court Even in* Your *Cradle; whilst Addresses and Petitioners were* Your Highness's *earliest Train of Homagers. The Restless Endeavours of* Rome's *too great, and consequently* England's *too little Friends, have not been wanting (for Religious Frenzy shrinks at nothing) in the most unaccountable Measures for carrying on their sinister Ambition, in the following Unnatural* Imposture. *But, as hideous as such a vile Conspiracy may appear, 'tis but too reasonable to believe, that the same infatuated Zeal of* Popish Bigottry, *that can so poorly descend to commission* Ruffians *and* Cut-throats, *with* Daggers *and* Musquetoons; *might as easily with the same stretch of* Romish *Conscience, stoop to as vile Artifices for a* Heretick Exclusion, *as a* Heretick Assassination; *of the Two, the more Important Service to their Cause, and consequently their warmest Temptation.*

And here, to joyn the Parallel of both those Romish *Machinations; the World must look upon* Your Highness, *as beset round with Enemies in (nay before)* Your *very Cradle;* You *had so far the start of Great* William's *Danger and Deliverance, as to be that forward Aim of* Romish *Conspiracies, so*

early a Mark of their Indignation and Vengeance, as to be struck at even Unborn; a Blow level'd at the Cedar Root *before the Royal* Syen *sprung.*

And now give me leave to joyn in the Universal Veneration, and Survey You *in all the Perfections of a most Active and most promising* Youth, *the Morning Lustre of the* Great Soul, *those* Paternal *Sparks of* Glory, *Born with* You, *and so early* Shining *from* You, *whilst* Your Highness's *young Martial Inclinations even point* You *out, as form'd by Nature, and designed by Heaven, for no less than the* Heroe. *With a mind so amply Furnisht for all the Noblest Impressions of true* Honour; *may the continued Smiles of Providence, so build upon that fair Foundation, so lengthen out* Your *happy Years, to* Your *compleating the great work of* Your *Creation, in all the Accomplishments of our young* British Alcides: *And as* You *have already performed the First Herculean, though Infant Labour, in strangling the Conspiring Snakes against* You; *so may* You *succeed our* Great Nassau, *till* You *arrive at the last Labour too,* viz., *the supplying our* Albion Atlas; *which is the Prayer of*

Your Highness's

Most Dutiful Servant,

W. FULLER.*

* This miserable traitor met the fate he so richly deserved. He died in abject poverty in 1708, despised by every man of honour of both parties. It need not be added that the following account in so far as it relates to the birth of James II. has been found to be absolutely false.

THE

TRUE MOTHER

OF THE

Pretended Prince of *Wales*,

DISCOVERED.

IN *May*, *Anno Dom.* 1688, the Countess of *Tyrconnel*, (whose zeal for the late King James's Cause and Service, is not unknown to the World) came from *Ireland* to *England* in the *Monmouth Yatch*, Captain *Wright*, Commander; who, besides her own Daughters and Servants that attended her hither, brought over *Two Gentlewomen*, both big with Child: The *First* of which, was about *Thirty* Years of Age, a lusty and healthful Countenanced Woman: The *Second* was a tall and slender woman, darkish Hair'd, and something above *Twenty*: The *First* of these Women was brought to Bed at *S. Alban's*, in her way to *London*: The *Second* (whose name was Mrs. Grey) was conveyed to *S. James's* Palace, and was Lodged in two private Rooms, *over* or *within* the Lady *Strickland's* Lodgings, in the *Narrow Gallery*, between the *Queen's* Appartment, and the great Chappel. In these Lodgings, this *Young Gentlewoman* was Delivered on *Sunday-Morning*, the *Tenth* of *June*, the same day, and but a little time before the late *Queen* pretended to be Delivered of a *Prince* of *Wales*. About the latter end of *June*, this *Young Gentlewoman* was removed from those Lodgings to the Marchioness of *Powis's* Appartment, which was in the same Gallery; she being then Governess to the pretended *Prince of Wales*, and to whose Charge and Care this Lady was particularly Committed.

At that very time, was I in the Marchioness's Family, and, by her

special Commands, daily and almost hourly attended the said *Young Gentlewoman*; being ordered to supply her with all necessaries, and do all other Offices of Service, during her Continuance at *S. James's*: her present Indisposition requiring a more than ordinary Assiduity and attendance upon her.

During her said continuance at *S. James's*, she was very little Visited by any Person, but the Marchioness herself, excepting some of her Women in proper Occasions of Female Nursery and Service, appearing by this, to be some more than ordinary Charge of the Marchioness's: She seemed very well contented with her Entertainment, and the Marchioness's Care and Adoption of her, and was hardly ever, or (at least) very seldom desirous to stir over the Threshold of her own Lodging's excepting some times, that she exprest a desire, and that (as I observed) with a particular zeal and Delight to go and Visit the *Young Prince*, which was sometimes granted her; and whither I attended her by the Marchioness's Command, and waited on her back again. Amongst the general Devoirs that were then publicly paid to that young *Infant*, I remarkt, that nothing appeared so warmly fond as herself; and when (as a Peculiar Favour) she was permitted to take him in her arms, her Kisses and Embraces seemed more than usually Tender and Passionate.

About the middle of *July* following, when her Health and Strength were visably improved, it was thought fit, by some Authority from Above, that she should be transported into *France*; and accordingly one Father *Sabran*, and one Mrs *Jones*, and myself by Command, attended her to *Dover*, in order to her Voyage.

Before her Departure, I observed that she seemed mightily concerned at her leaving *England*; and in my hearing, both before, and all the way to *Dover*, exprest a great deal of Trouble on that account, as compelled to visit *France* much against her Inclination; which I the more wondered at, as believing she was a Native of *Ireland*, and had not been two Months in this Kingdom. And before she took her leave of the *Court*, she desired to Pay her last Duty to the Queen; and here taking her farewel of the *Young Prince*, she betrayed that extraordinary effeminate Weakness, that she melted into down right Tears.

When she arrived at *Dover*, she was met by one Father *Grey* (her

supposed Brother, or such he pretended himself) a *Secular Priest* and an *Irish-man*, with whom she embarked for *Calais*, in order to be conveyed to the *Convent* of *Benedictine Nuns* in *Paris:* She having been in a *Nunnery* in *Ireland*, sometime before she came for *England.*

After the *new Happy Revolution*, the winter following, and King *James's Abdication*, I being at that time Servant to her Majesty in *France*, commended and prefer'd to her *Majesty's Service*, by my kind *Patroness* the *Marchioness* of *Powis;* and the late Queen reposing a peculiar *Trust* and *Confidence* in *my Fidelity*, from the character she had received of me from the *Marchioness;* I proceed to let you know that in *February* 1689, I being at *St. Germains*, (the late Queen's *Court* in *France*) was one *Sunday-night* ordered to attend the Queen immediately. Her *Majesty* being, as was reported, Indisposed, (it seems with a Fright, which made Her keep her Chamber) where I attending Her *Commands*, Her *Majesty* told me, I must immediately prepare to go to *England*, with some Letters to the Lord *Montgomery* and *others*, about extraordinary Business. Her *Majesty* gave me her Letters; and that my journey might not be in Vain, was pleased to tell me *It was a matter that nearly concerned the late King and her Self:* And then in my Voyage to *England*, or at *my* Landing, I might meet with *so strict* a *Search*, as might oblige me to fling *my* Letters into the Sea, or some other *Way* dispose them to conceal them from being taken; her *Majesty* thought fit to give me a *Ring*, which I was to deliver to the Lord *Montgomery* in *England*, by way of *Credentials* for what I had to say to him by Word of Mouth, upon any *unfortunate* forementioned Miscarriage of my Letter; and by that to tell him, *That the same Woman which came from* Ireland, *with the Lady* Tyrconnel, *in* May, 1688, *was stolen out of the* Nunnery *in* Paris, *where she was kept, (there having been a Breach in the* Garden Walls) *and that it was the opinion of the* French Court, *that she had been assisted by some of the* Prince *of* Orange's *Friends in* Paris, *to make her said escape from thence, in order to come for* England. The late Queen farther commanded me to tell him, *That the* French King *had taken all possible care to prevent her going off; but least his endeavours might prove ineffectual, it was her desire, that immediately after my arrival in* England, *the Lord* Montgomery *and others, should take care to place People on the Coast of* England, *that might inform them when she Landed; and then they were positively commanded to use all Endeavours to get her Dispatcht to prevent whatever Design she might Pretend to.*

Here the *Reader* may observe, That the *Queen* was infinitely Zealous both for her apprehension and Dispatch; and that must be some very threatening Fears they Convinced* from this poor Woman's Escape, that could pull down all this Mortal Vengeance upon her Head. Nay, the *Queen* was so very solicitous for *Executing* the said Vengeance, that for fear of Failure, or Miscarriage of her Commands in *Black* and *White*, she trusted me with some part of the bloody Commission on that account. 'Tis true, her furious Zeal in this *Case*, did not directly tell me the very particular Crime this Offending Lady had committed, deserving *Death*. That part of my Intelligence into this *Secret History*, was my own Observation and Discovery.

This was the *Contents* of the *Queen's* Letters, and what I had orders to inform the Lord *Montgomery*, and others of his Party, which the *Ring*, as a *Token* was to Confirm. The late *Queen* gave me also another Letter to carry to Father *Petre*, who by the *French* King's Order was constrained to live *privately* at Abbeville, a City between *Paris* and *Callais*: Accordingly I took *Post*, and came to *Abbeville*, where I was forced to tarry six Hours before I could meet with Father *Petre*, to give him the *Queen's Letter*, which was to require him *To go to* S. Omers, *to observe whether or no the Woman might come that Way, in order to her embarking for* England. Just as I came to my inn, and was going to take Horse, there arrived one Mr. *Crane*, Gentleman-Usher to the *Queen*, from the *Queen's Court*, to order me to return with him to *S. Germain's* again, where we arrived the next night; and then waiting on the *Queen*, she told me, *The lost Sheep was found at a private House in* Paris; and as I afterwards soon understood, was then in the same *Nunnery* again, under the care of the *Countess* of *Sussex* and others. But the next day following, Father *Sabran* was to go in one of her *Majesties Coaches* to *Paris*, in order to bring the *Countess* of *Sussex* with the *Woman* to *S. Germains;* and the *Queen* ordered me to accompany the said Father *Sabran*, which I did in the Coach the next day; and coming to the *Nunnery*, they continued there about an Hour and a half; and then the Countess of *Sussex*, with *Sabran* and myself, returned with the *Woman* to *S. Germains*, where she was conveyed privately to the *Queen's* Back-Stairs, by Father *Sabran*, whilst I attended the Lady *Sussex*, who went in to acquaint the *Queen*, *That the Woman was*

* Sic. ? conceived. ——

come; after which, by the *Queen's* Command, I went to the Back-Stairs to convey the Woman to the Queen in her *Bed Chamber*, where she continued with the Queen, the Lady *Powis*, the Countess of *Sussex*, and several others, above an Hour; and was afterwards conveyed down the Back-Stairs and cross the Gallery under the *Prince of Wales's* lodgings, to a private Appartment belonging to the Lady *Powis*, where the said Woman continued a day or two, after which the late Queen with the whole *Court*, going to visit the *French King* at his *Court* at *Marli*; Three Miles from *S. Germains*; in the same Evening, the said Woman, with the Countess of *Sussex*, Father *Sabran*, and myself, went in the Princes Coach with six Horses, to the same Place; and were there convey'd to a *Chamber* or *Room* belonging to the Arch-Bishop of *Paris*, where the Woman, *Sabran*, and myself continued about half an Hour, whilst the Countess of *Sussex* went publicly to wait upon the *French King*, and the late Queen: Then the Woman, *Sabran*, and myself were conducted by a Priest, a *Chaplain* of the Archbishop's, privately to the *French King's* Back Stairs: The woman lamenting her Fate which she said was occasioned by her last being in *England*, she grieved to that excess, that she Fainted several times, before they could get her up the Stairs to the *French King's* apartment, whither she was conducted by a *Jesuite* and continued about half an Hour with the *French King*, and the late Queen. During which time I waited with Father *Sabran* at the bottom of the Stairs, till she came down with the *Jesuite* that conveyed her up; at which time she wept bitterly, and told Father *Sabran* and me, *That now she must take her Everlasting Farewell of us*: and so was carried away by the *Jesuite*, and never more seen or heard of, notwithstanding my most diligent Inquiry after her at all the *English*, *Scotch* and *Irish Nunneries* in *Paris*, and other Places, where I had great Acquaintance, and where, led by my extraordinary Curiosity in this affair, I was not a little inquisitive to learn, if possible, the *Catastrophe* of this unfortunate Gentlewoman; as indeed I had been all along little other than a spy upon her, and her concerns, relating to that *Young Child*. I confess, I had but small occasion of given* myself this needless trouble of making the aforesaid Inquiry. For Father *Sabran*, who (I forgot to tell my Reader) was Chaplain to the Young Prince, and is now his Tutour, did frankly own to me the same Evening they left her, *That*

* Sic.

he believed she would not be alive the Day following, nor was it fit she should live. I might have rested satisfied with what *Sabran* told me, it being undoubtedly too much of Truth: However, as it could not enter into my heart, to think it possible there should be such Inhuman Barbarity in the World as to murder a poor Woman in cold Blood, and that too by the Commands of Crowned Heads; my own good nature in Tenderness for the poor Creature, inclined me to the said enquiry about her.

Besides my own knowledge in this affair, there have been several Letters and Papers found in Mrs. *Labodies* Father's Trunk, now still to be produced, Relating to this Gentlewoman; besides several corroborative Proofs from divers *Persons* of *Quality* of *Ireland*, and others as also Captain *Wright*, that brought her over from *Ireland*, and the other Captain that carried her over into *France*, that are able to give a great Light into the Discovery of this *Grand Imposture*: Nor were the Managers of this Affair any ways wanting in providing of Two Big-Bellied Women together, that if One String failed the other might hit.

As for the Child he is a very Brisk and Airy, no ways Deformed in his Limbs, but a Ruddy *Complexion*, fair Hair, and Dark coloured brisk Eyes. He, when but Two Years Old, was a great lover of *Musick*, and could distinguish several particular Tunes when Played: he is a notable Fighter, but does not beat his young Play-Fellows on the least Distaste; But the *Dauphin* of *France*, going one Day to Kiss his Highness, and his *Welsh* or *Irish* Blood being up, he gave the *Dauphin* a Blow on the Face with his Hand with all his Might. None dare cross him, for he is so Refractory, that upon the least Occasion, he would hold his Breath to that degree, that the *Queen* and all about him, have thought him really Dead.

As to my first Introduction to this Trust and Knowledge into the Affairs of the late *Court*, I must inform my Reader, (that by Sir *John Burrows*, a zealous *Roman Catholick*, and my particular Patron, and the Marquess of *Powis*, (to whom by the Mother's side, I had the Honour to be a little Related) I was preferred to be a *Page* to the Countess of *Melford*: From her service I was introduced into the Marquess's Family, and from thence, as before mentioned, I was advanced to the late *Queen's* Service. And here to begin with my first Trust and Commands received from her said Majesty.

The *Sunday* before *Christmas*, in the year 1688, I embarked with the late King *James's Queen*, her pretended Son the Prince of *Wales*, the Marchioness of *Powis*, the Lady *Strickland*, Mrs. *Labody*, and Count *De Lazon* with several others, in a Barge from *White Hall*. And the next Day following, arrived at *Calais* in a *Yatch*, where the said *Queen* was received by the Governor and Garrison in Arms; and continued there Three Days, taking her journey from thence to *Bulloign*, where she had an Express with the news of King *James's* being taken at *Feversham*, in *Kent*. On which occasion I was immediately Dispatched for *England* with Letters to him, and came to his Majesty on a *Sunday* Morning, just as he was ready to take Coach for *White-Hall*; from whence I was sent with Letters back to *France* again the same night, and overtook the *Queen* Four Days before her arrival at *S. Germains*, and continued there until King *James's* arrival; immediately after which, I was sent to *England* again with Letters from King *James*, to his Friends here; and arriving safely, I was soon ordered back to *France*, with the answer in the like manner: And was likewise sent betwixt *France* and *England* several other times, bringing Letters not only to several Lords in *England*, but also for such of King *James's* Friends as were in *Scotland*, particularly the Lord Viscount *Dundee*; and Commissions for several in Rebellion with him, and for Others, that promised to joyn against the *Prince* of *Orange* on the first Opportunity. I also brought several Bills of Exchange, for Money to be Remitted to the said Lord *Dundee*, which was performed by the care of Mr. *Ashton*, the late King *James's Queen's* Privy-Purse. And during my continuance in London, I used daily to visit the Lords, and others in the *Tower*; and being young, passed freely to them unsuspected, carrying Letters to and from them on all occasions, relating to King *James's* Affairs; and brought several Bills from them which was to be employed, by their appointment, for Listing of Men in *England*, for King *James's* Service, against a Descent from *France*, which was resolved on at the *Court* of *France*; and much solicited for from *England*, it being the chief Subject of the Letters I carried to King *James* and the *French* King to interest the Landing of Men in *England* in several places, particularly in the North; and that Five Thousand Men, some good officers with a Hundred Thousand Pounds, and Thirty or Forty Thousand spare Arms would be sufficient to be sent and to secure the Kingdom of *Scotland* with the assistance of those in Arms against the Prince of *Orange*. For this the *French Court* was almost daily

solicited by Letters and great Promises from *England*; and all possible Provision was made on each side; the *French* having provided a great Fleet, and Men ready to make a Descent; whilst King James's Friends in *England* had according to the account they sent to *France*, listed about Twenty Thousand Men in and about *London* (January 1690. for this cause the *Popes Nuncio's* Chair-Man was Executed) and had provided great numbers of Horse and Foot Accoutrements, and Arms; and the like was done according to their utmost endeavours in most Counties and Shires in this Kingdom. Here I shall omit troubling you or myself with the manner of my coming to serve King *William*, since 'tis known to most intelligible Men: I propose to acquaint you that having privately Discovered all I knew to His Majesty, the now Duke of *Shrewsbury*, then *Secretary of State*, and the Earl of *Rumney*, then Lord *Sidney*, and the Earl of *Portland*; I continued to go to *France*, as before, with Letters for King *James*, his Queen, and the *French* Court, which Letters I always shewed to King *William* before I went, or to one of the Lords before mentioned; as I did also the answer at my Return. The last time of my coming from *France*, was with Mr. *Crone*, at the beginning of *Summer* in the year 1690. The *French* Fleet being then very numerous and ready to Sail, and all things in *England* and *Scotland* seemed in a posture to receive them, and a *French* Army on the other side, King *William* was almost ready to take his Journey for the Reducing of *Ireland*. The said Mr. *Crone* with myself, was sent to *England* now with several Commissions from King *James* by the way of *France*, from *Ireland*: The chief Commissions we brought was for Levying a War with the Prince and Princess of *Orange*, and all such as resisted the Power and Authority of King *James*, and to Impower Persons to Seize and Imprison the Persons of the said Prince and Princess of *Orange*. By a Commission under the Great Seal, dated at *Dublin*, King *James* Authorized several Lords to Act as his Deputies, during his Absence. We likewise brought over several Commissions to constitute Commissioners of the Treasury, Impowering them to Raise, and Collect Moneys on King *James's* Account; as also several Commissions for Colonels of Regiments of Foot, and Horse.

By the way, permit me to inform my Reader, that in the above mentioned Commission for Levying of War, King *James* did Command and Authorize his loving Subjects by force of arms, to seize the Persons of the present King, and his Royal Consort, Queen

Mary the Second, Alive, or Dead. And Three Months before I came last from *France*, Colonel *Parker* had undertaken to shoot King *William*; for which Intent he came to *England*, and went into Lancashire, there to continue until the King came that way on his Journey for *Ireland*, that being the place proposed to murther King *William* at: And to advise it, there was many Letters sent to the Court of *France*, desiring that the *French* Fleet might Sail at or near the time King *William* set out for *Ireland*.

At this last time, Mr. Crone and myself, brought over many Letters, containing full Instructions for the intended Designs, of Killing and Imprisoning their Majesties, King *William*, and Queen *Mary*; and for the Raising of Great Numbers of Men in several Places against them, for King *James* and the *French* interest. *I will first give you a short* Narrative *of the contents of a few of the Letters I carried to* France, *and so proceed to the Design before mentioned.* Several Letters I carried to, and brought from *France*, were made up as the mould of a Button, and so work'd over with silk, or Silver, and worn on my Cloaths: Others I brought over in the Pipes of Keys, and some writ Obscurely; which writing was discovered by the Steem of a Compound of several Spirits, Mettals and Sulphure boyl'd together, and made Liquid, the Writing was seen no longer than the said Steem was near the Paper on which it was Writ. Many of the Letters I carried to King *James*, his Queen, and the *French* Court, were from the Chief of their Friends in *England*, and were full of great Promises, and large Incouragements to the *French* King: But his Gallick Majesty well observed, That whilst they were daily promising great Assistance to his Army, when they Landed in *England* they were for the most part unwilling to part with any Money, but continually desired *Supplies* from *France:* Some in *England* to my certain Knowledge, Writ to King *James*, to assure him, that they had taken the Oaths to King *William*, on purpose to make themselves more able to serve King *James's* Interest, by delaying King *William's* Affairs in the Houses of *Parliament;* Of this and part of which I had discovered to His Sacred Majesty King *William*, he was pleased to acquaint his Parliament in his Gracious Speech to both Houses a short time before he went for *Ireland;* Adding in his Speech at the same time, That he spoke it, to let them, and his Enemies know, that he was not unacquainted with their Designs. Now to return to my last Coming from *France* with

Mr. *Crone*, I having informed His Majesty of all I knew, Mr. *Crone* was seized, and sent Prisoner to the *Tower*, the rest of the Conspirators and their Designs being known, and narrowly observed, His Majesty went for *Ireland*, committing the Management to the Queen, and the Ministers of State: yet, although the *Jacobites*, and the *French* Court were, Blessed be Almighty God, disappointed of the King's being kill'd on his Journey to *Ireland*, they continued to go on with their other Designs; Colonel *Parker* being also order'd for Ireland, to Kill His Majesty there; But the Government knowing their Intriegues, took care to secure this Kingdom, by Raising the Militia, and securing of Conspirators, before the *French* Fleet came on our Coast, as they did, and lay some time expecting to hear of their Friends in *England*, being in Arms to receive them. At this time Several Lords, and others, were sent to the *Tower*, and others whose Intriegues were discovered, fled from Justice, which occasioned several *Proclamations* to be Published for apprehending them, and the Tower, and all the Goals in *London*, and several others were filled with Conspirators. They finding their whole Design unravelled, and that I had discovered all I knew, and Mr. *Crone* was safe, and to be suddenly Tryed, which might make him Confess, they instantly got me poysoned, in hopes to have prevented *Crone's* Tryal; but it pleasing Almighty God to restore me to my Health again, after Ten Weeks Sickness, I was able to come to the Old-Baily, where Mr. *Crone* was Tryed, and Condemned for High-Treason: He had several Reprieves from time to time, on his Promise of making a full Confession; but as he was lingring it out, about Six Months after his Conviction, I Received a Letter at my Lodgings in the *Pall-mall* from the Earl of *Melford*, King *James's* Secretary, in which I was promised King *James's* Pardon, and all the Favour I could desire from him, and the Court of *France*, and Five Hundred Pounds down, if I would return to *France*, and Recant from what I had done: I carried this Letter to the King, who sent me to the Lord Chief Justice *Holt*, for his Advice how far I might proceed by Law, thinking thereby to discover some thing more; but his Lordship and several others were of Opinion, that it was a Trick, purely to invalidate my Evidence; They still being apprehensive of Mr. *Crone's* Confession, which they knew must be so agreeable to my Informations, that the Heads of King *James's* Friends had been intirely at King *William's* mercy: And this matter highly concern'd the *French* Court, for, had *Crone* been but just to Him that gave him his Life,

there might have been but small Incouragement from *Engand* to the *French* long since; and consequently no plotting now. They of King *James's* Party (as well has appeared to the Court) made it their Indeavour to have *Crone* Hang'd, to stop his mouth; and that as I am well informed, occasioned his making almost a full Discovery: Though he went for *France* as soon as he was let out of *Newgate*, being invited back with great Promises, as I before had been. I must thank him for his Justice to me, in his last, and most authentick Confession. He affirms on oath, That all my Information was true; for the Confirmation of this I can appeal to any Member of Parliament that heard Mr. *Crone's* or the Lord *Preston's* Confessions read, before the Honourable *House of Commons.*

After this, it may seem strange to some, how the House came to be so angry with me: I beg leave to inform such, that the *Jacobites* by Mr. *Crone's* going off, knew they had partly secured themselves from the just Power of the Law; but were yet concern'd, if possible to make the World believe; that they never had any Design against the Government. And who can blame them for being ashamed of such a Horrid, and Bloody Design, as they had then contrived against the Government, and their own Countrey, to Ruine both Church and State: To cover their Shame as much as may be, they had no way but to Invalidate me; which they set about with all the Malice that the Devil, or Popish Principles cou'd incite them with; though for some time my faithful Service, and the King's large Promises of lasting Favours to me, was my Support; and had continued so, but that the Immaturity of my Judgment was so easily impos'd upon, by Two Instruments sent by the *French* Court, to accomplish my Ruin, viz. Colonel *Thomas Dellaval*, and Mr. *George Hayes*: They were formerly my most intimate acquaintance both in *England* and at the Court at *S. Germains'*, and were imployed constantly 'twixt *England* and *France* on King *James's* Account as I was: The First of these came to me at my Lodgings in *White Hall*, and told me, He desired to come and Serve the Government, as I had done, provided I would intercede with the Queen for his Pardon, and make some Conditions for his coming over Honourably. I acquainted the Queen of it immediately, the King being then in *Flanders*; and Her Majesty, (whose Bounty extended to all,) did most Graciously promise to Write to the King about it; and, in the mean time, committed the management of this

Affair to the care of His Grace, *John*, Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*, (my very good Friend), But before the King's Answer came from *Flanders*, *Dellaval* received a Letter from the Earl of Melfort, requiring his Return immediately to *S. Germain's*, which Letter he shewed me, and I carried it to the Queen, who knowing *Melfort's* Hand, gave Orders, that Colonel *Dellaval* might go for *France* again, provided, that he engaged to Return when Her Majesty required Him: All which he Swore, and promised most solemnly to do, and then went for *France* accordingly. Soon after his arrival there, he sent me several Letters writ in Characters, promising to come to King *William* in *Flanders*, and desired me to meet him there. The Archbishop and my self from time to time, acquainted Her Majesty of every Particular; and I was Commanded to go for *Flanders*, where I continued with the King Three Months on this Occasion, and Received Letters from Colonel *Dellaval* at *S. Germain's* Twice every Week, during the time I was there; the contents of which Letters proved very true, and of some use at that time to the King's Affairs; but this was only a Snare, the more securely to Ruin me to the Purpose: For as soon as the King came to *England*, and the Parliament was Sitting, *Dellaval* writ to me, and Mr. *Hayes* likewise, to have me get their Pardon, and Protection from the King and Parliament, promising they would make great Discoveries, (which His Majesty knew they might, this being the Winter before the Second intended Invasion, when the Forces with the late King *James* lay at *La Hague*, ready to Embark the latter end of *April* following) the Parliament having Addressed the King, to cause the Lord *Preston's*, and Mr. *Crone's* Confessions to be laid before them; and theirs agreeing with mine, the Parliament made an humble Address to the King, to add to His Bounty to me; this did more Inflame mine, and the Nation's Enemies; and Colonel *Dellaval* and Mr. *Hayes* sent me abundance of Letters, and great Promises of performing considerable services for their Majesties and this Kingdom's Safety. At length I did Address the *House of Commons* in their Behalf, Desiring a Pardon and Passport to be given me Blank, for Two Gentlemen to come beyond the Seas, and to Return if desired.

The Honourable House granted my Request, on Condition I would engage for their Appearances, and performing what they promised at this time: Only their Majesties and some of Their Most Honourable Privy-Council knew these Men's names that I engaged for, lest the

French Court shou'd prevent their coming (as my Credulity caused me to believe). I had the Protection of the Parliament for them, and a Pardon and Passport Signed by the King, and under the Great Seal; it was left blank for me to fill up; and this I sent for *Flanders*, by a Messenger of my own, Recommended by some Members of Parliament: It proving very cold hard weather in those Parts *Dalleval* and *Hayes* came to *Antwerp* some time before my messenger cou'd get there, so they went to *Ostend*, and came from thence to *England*, having heard their Pardon had passed the Seals. The Messenger heard of them at *Antwerp*, and other Places; and hearing they were come for *England*, he returned: As soon as *Dellaval* and the other arrived, they sent one *Jones* to me with a Letter, assuring me, they were coming to Town, and intended to attend on the *House of Commons* the *Monday* following. I was extream joyful to hear of their arrival, and immediately sent their Letter to the House, where the *Speaker* Read it: and *Monday* was appointed for Hearing them. At this Unhappy time I was very dangerously Sick, and when *Monday* came, the Gentlemen were seen by many in the *Lobby*, whilst the House was at Prayers: But Prayers being ended, and they call'd for, they were vanished of a sudden, which occasioned the House to appoint a Committee to come to me, which they did, taking all my Papers, and Informations on Oath: *Anthony Bowyer*, Esquire, being Chair-man of the said Committee. I gave them an Account where Mr. *Hayes* had lodged formerly at a Papists in *Holborn*, but they were not to be found; which occasion'd on *Wednesday* the Twenty Fourth of *February* to pass a vote against me, and to address the King to order the *Attorney-General* to prosecute me for engaging for these men, and that they did not appear: Now King *James's* Friends had their Desire, and *Dellaval* with the Other, having accomplished their Villanous Designs, return'd to *France*: I was brought to my Tryal, at my own Request, at the *King's-Bench*, at *Westminster*; and even then these Gentlemen, *Dellaval*, and *Hayes*, sent me several Letters to excuse themselves, and promised to come and vindicate me: And it is most certain, That even to this time, they have continued to come frequently to *England* about King *James's* Business: When I was on my Tryal, the *Attorney General*, now *Lord-Keeper* of the *Great Seal*, and one of the Lords Justices of *England*, told the Judges and Jury, that I had performed very considerable Services to the Advantage and Security of the Present Government, and had discharged my Duty honestly; but having Engag'd for those Men,

and they not Appearing, occasioned my Tryal; on which I produced a Certificate, under the Hand of His Grace the Duke of *Shrewsbury*, that by the King's Order, and his Encouragement, I was sent to *France* for the Service and Security of the Present Government, as before mentioned. I also desired the *Lord Chief Justice Holt* to acquaint the Jury, (who were all Gentlemen of good Account) of what he knew, being one of His Majesty's most honourable Privy-Council. And, as to the Matter relating to the Letters I had, and the Pardons, and money which was offered me to go back for *France*, all which his Lordship most justly and honourably declared: There was likewise a considerable number of Members of Parliament call'd; but the Men I engaged for, not appearing before the House, to certifie them, I was found Guilty of a Misdemeanour against them. Having thus showed how far their Malice extended to me, I beg you will take Notice, how Confidently King *James's* Friends can oppose any Truth that is against their Interests, as now their denying that the *French* Court, or King *James's* knew, of the Design of Murthering King *William;* when the World cannot but remember that *Chevalier Granval* was executed in *Flanders*, for endeavouring to Shoot the King; and that, at his Death, he confess'd the Fact: And it was sufficiently prov'd That Colonel *Parker* was engaged with him; and that *Parker* had Receiv'd Instructions from the Late King; and that both of Them, with Others, were Encouraged from Time to Time, by the *French* Ministers of State: Of this I first acquainted his Majesty, but it was further Discveor'd at one of the *Confederate* Prince's Courts; who earnestly pressed his Majesty to Examine the Matter; and being done, this *Granval* was found Guilty and Executed: tho' Colonel *Parker* made his Escape: Which may convince any thinking Man, that from the First Intended Invasion from *France*, that Court has studied Wayes to Kill King *William* and his late Royal Consort, of ever Blessed Memory.

As for the Intolerable Injuries that I have undergone, Time, and their own Devices have at last Demonstrated; tho' they spared for no Means, that might make me Obnoxious to all Good Men: *I bless God, and must acknowledge the abundant Goodness of my Sovereign, for my deliverance from their treacherous and base Villanies; and earnestly pray, that Almighty God will forgive them, as I most freely do.*

Whoever shall peruse these Lines, and is not satisfied with the Truth

of any Particular, I shall be ready to give any Demonstration, that is not too impertinent. And as I have mentioned the Names of several Great and Good Men, I dare refer any person to them, for the Confirmation of the Truth of this Narrative.

POST-SCRIPT.

Though the Jacobites *and* Malecontents *of the Kingdom (those that either blindly, or those that wilfully think too well of their bad cause) will be apt, no doubt, to quarrel, and revile at what I have here declared concerning the Birth of their Darling, though weak Hopes, the pretended* Prince of Wales : *however, more strongly to confirm what I have here deliver'd introductory to the more ample Detection of that shameful Imposture; The undoubted spurious Fountain, the obscure Original of this Supposititious Birth from Good Testimony, and the Papers of Mrs* Labody's *Father and will in due time be plainly made out, to the full Satisfaction of all* Europe, and the eternal Shame of all *the* Jacobite *Confederates in that wretched Contrivance.*

And to the foregoing General and Succinct Account of my Correspondence and Interest in the late Court, and their Affairs, together with the hard Measures I received in Return for my well meaning honest Endeavours to serve the King and the Nation : I shall only add a few Remarks on the farther Subtilities and Artifices of the Jacobites, *That certainly never was there a more cunning Reach of Policy, nor a Popish Misrepresentation more artfully managed, to the rendring of Truth Suspected, Innocence Exposed, and Integrity Ridicul'd, than by those Hypocrite false Friends of mine, the forementiou'd* Dellaval *and* Hayes; *who, by a Master-piece of Villany against me, could work with me, only to blow me up,* viz. *When their forementiou'd Letters and Correspondence with me, together with their many fair Promises of Serving the King and Queen, in joyning in my Discovery; as also their Publick Appearance in the* Lobby, *and other Places, to strengthen my too easie Credulity, and were all but a Popish Juggle and Trick to give them Opportunity to vanish off Invisible; and by the stink of their own Cloven-Feet they left behind them, utterly to blast the whole Credit of all I had said, or could say; so to expose the King to their own Impious Conspiracies, by stifling whatever Truth should pretend to speak, for his Preservation and Deliverance. And as to the Veracity of my Informations and Depositions, though render'd by the aforesaid Misrepresentations so discredited by the Government, the happy Detection of the late horrid Plot has fully and amply clear'd the unjust Aspersions and false Imputations against me, when their Designs are so manifestly*

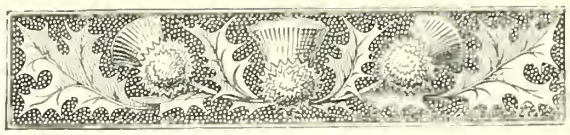
proved to be built upon the same Bottom, and managed by the very same Persons; the same Conspiring hands I then Discovered, and etc. *For a clear Demonstration of the unquestion'd Truth of my Discovery, I shall only instance one Particular,* viz. *in the matter of* Granval's *and* Parker's *Assassination: 'Tis known to Mr.* William Killegrew, *and (if required) will be attested by him, That he saw my Papers drawn up, concerning* Chevalier Granval's *Assassination,* and etc., *and was by, when I deliver'd them to the King's own hand, and heard me tell his Majesty part of the Contents; and which Papers, I desire my Reader to observe, were given to his Majesty in the Winter before his then setting out for* Flanders, *before the intended Execution of the said Horrid Design; his Majesty's timely Warning and Caution being receiv'd from my Information and Intelligence.*

I must confess, with sorrow unspeakable, that the unkind Usage I met with, exposed me to some little shifts (which my Soul abhors) as the running in Debt for necessary Subsistence, being sometimes hardly allow'd Bread when I was about his Majesty's Service. Therefore whoever shall presume to Charge the Government with keeping me in Constant Pay, for a Spy or Witness, as was practis'd in the former Reigns, does them much Injury.

But my Wrongs being now plainly Demonstrated, I hope none will reflect on the Justice of the Government, in providing for me, that I may have a poor Maintenance, and be able to render to every one their just Due, which is my hearty Desire.

Lastly, *As to my no earlier Publication of these Papers; I have only this to say, That the Disreputation I so long groan'd under till now, deterr'd me from appearing in Print, as having the Prejudice of a Nation against me; and which I well knew, would have render'd the whole Truth I had to speak, but so much Breath against the wind. 'Tis true, I might have publish'd these Papers some few months sooner, had I not then been Commanded to Sea in his Majesty's Service, in order to my Apprehending several suspected Persons concern'd in this present Plot; which gave me neither that Leisure nor Opportunity.*

FINIS.



The Author's Advertisement.

Whereas I am inform'd, That there is a Design of Publishing a Surreptitious Copy of this Narrative (of the *True Mother of the Pretended Prince of Wales*) by way of Abridgement. . . . These are therefore to Certify, That the only True Copy, as Deliver'd to the King, and *Ministers of State*, is contain'd in this Book, [Price stitcht, *Six Pence* :] as Witness my Hand, this *Fourth* Day of *July*, 1696.

W. Fuller.



"INTER FOLIA FRUCTUS."

A LETTER

FROM

The Right Honourable

FERDINANDO,

Lord FAIRFAX,

TO

HIS EXCELLENCY ROBERT

Earle of ESSEX.

Relating his late prosperous successe

against the popish Army in the North, his expelling them from their Workes, and forcing them to raise their siege from before the Towne of *Hull*,

Also certifying, how the Enemy have fled to *Beverley*, and were forced to leave divers pieces of Ordnance, much Powder and Ammunition behind them.

Being upon the same day wherein the Earle of *Manchester* obtained the victory neere *Horn-Castle* in *Lincolnshire*.

Printed by his Excellencies speciall direction.

LONDON,

Printed for *John Wright*, in the Old-baily, Octob. 18. 1643.

"History is but the unrolled scroll of Prophecy."

—JAMES A. GARFIELD.

PRIVATELY PRINTED
FOR THE CLARENDON HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

1883.

The Reprints of the CLARENDON HISTORICAL SOCIETY are issued to members *only*.

This edition is limited to *One Hundred and Twenty* large paper and *Four Hundred* small paper copies.

A LETTER FROM THE RIGHT Honourable, FERDINANDO Lord *Fairfax*, To his Excellency, ROBERT Earle of *Essex*.

May it please your Excellency,

SInce the last Account, I gave your Excellency a few daies since, of our condition at *Hull*, on the fifth of this instant Sir *John Meldrum*, that Gallant Gentleman is happily arrived here, with foure hundred men from the Earle of *Manchester*, and two hundred and fifty men are since come to me from Sir *William Constable*, but Sir *William* himselfe is not yet here. Some little service, I thanke God, we did on Monday morning last, what time the Enemy assaulted one of our outworkes, but was beaten backe with the losse of eleven or twelve men, and some Officers, without the losse of any of mine. Yesterday, being the eleventh of this instant, I thought fit to draw forth what strength I could well make, in a salley, to drive the Enemy from a new Worke that in the night hee had encroacht very neere us, on the West side of the Towne, and it pleased God to give a blessing to the attempt. My men I divided into two bodies, under the command of Colonell *Lambart*, and Colonell *Rainborrow*, Captaine of the Lyon, who brought some Sea men for our assistants, and all under the command in chiefe for that service of Sir *John Meldrum*; whose valour and discretion with the other two Colonels throughout the whole action, I cannot mention without high commendation. About nine of the clocke by an assault two severall waies, the service begun: for, the truth is, we could not take that early advantage that I desired for such an interprise: in a short time we gained one of their workes, and assaulted them in another; and it was not long

ere we were unhappily forc't to retreat, and the enemy recovered all againe. But through the goodnesse of God my men were soone rallyed, their spirits recovered, and they suddenly reposses't of the last worke, beate them out of all the rest in that part, and got possession of one of their great Brasse demy Cannon. The Enemy thus fled, and the ground ours, we drew that great Gunne out of danger of their reprisall: About two houres after our possession of those workes, the enemy had drawne downe a full body of reserves of Horse, and Foot, from all their Quarters, their numbers we know not, but about 36 Colours some of our men could tell; with these they opposed our tired men, and that in truth with excellent resolution, but it pleased God after two houres sharpe encounter, or thereabouts, they left the Field; since that we have drawne into the Town their great Demi-Cannon, one Demi-Culverin, one Sacra, three Drakes, and one case of small Pieces, some Armes, and a Carriage of great Bullet, besides some Powder, which was made use of against them. This last night I finde they have drawne of the rest of their Ordnance from their other Workes, and so are like to be at some farther distance from us, though I am informed, they intend to keepe a Garrison at *Beverley*, and to raise some Works somewhat more remote from us, to keepe us from being so active as they believe we would be, when they cannot make us so passive as they would have us. However, my Lord, we heartily and thankfully acknowledge the powerfull and wise hand of our God in all this, desire he should have the glory of all, and to send his providence still, as occasion shall be further offered; the event whereof your Excellency shall assuredly have an account of, with the first opportunity, by

My Lord,

Kingston *Cuper* Hull,
12 *Octob.* 1643.

Your Excellencies most
humble servant.
FER. FAIRFAX.

Octob. 17. 1643.

IT *is his Excellencies pleasure this Letter be forthwith printed.*

John Baldwin, *Secretary*,
to his Excellence.

"INTER FOLIA FRUCTUS."

THE

REMONSTRANCE

OF THE

State of the Kingdom:

TO WHICH IS ADDED

THE PETITION OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

WHICH ACCOMPANIED IT.



LONDON,

Printed for L. T., 17, Decemb. 1641.

"History is but the unrolled scroll of Prophecy."
—JAMES A. GARFIELD.

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A Remonstrance of the State of the Kingdom.

Die Mercurii, 15, *Decemb.* 1641.

THe Commons in this present Parliament assembled, having with much earnestness, and faithfulness of affection, and zeale to the publick good of this Kingdome, and his Majesties honour and service, for the space of 12 moneths, wrastled with the great dangers and fears, the pressing miseries and calamities, the various distempers & disorders, which had not only assaulted, but even over-whelmed and extinguisht the liberty, peace, and prosperity of this Kingdom, the comfort and hopes of all his Majesties good Subjects, and exceedingly weakened and undermined the foundation, and strength of his owne Royall Throne; Doe yet finde an abounding Malignity, and opposition in those parties and factions, who have been the cause of those evils, and doe still labour to cast aspersions, upon that which hath been done, and to raise many difficulties for the hinderance of that which remayns yet undone, and to foment & * Jealousies betwixt the King the & Parliament; That so they may deprive him his people, of the fruit of his own gracious Intentions, and their humble desires of procuring the publick peace, safety, and happinesse of this Realme. For the preventing of those miserable effects, which such malicious endeavours may duce, We have thought good to declare.

1 *The root, and the growth of these mischievous Designes.*

2 *The Maturity and Ripenesse, to which they have attained before the beginning of the Parliament.*

3 *The effectual means which hath been used for the extirpations of those dangerous evils, and the Progresse which hath therein been made by his Majesties goodnesse, and the Wisdom of the Parliament.*

* Sic.

4 *The ways of obstruction and opposition, by which that Progresse hath been interrupted.*

5 *The courses to be taken for the removing those Obstacles, and for the accomplishing of our most dutifull, and faithfull intentions, and endeavours, of restoring and establishing the Ancient Honour, Greatnesse, and Security of this Crowne and Nation. The Root of all this mischief, Wee finde to be a malignant, and pernicious designe, of subverting the Fundamentall Laws, and Principles of Government, upon which the Religion, and Iustice of this Kingdom, are firmly establisht. The Actors and Promoters hereof have been.*

1 *The Iesuited Papists who hate the Laws, as the Obstacles of that change and Subversion of Religion, which they so much long for.*

2 *The Bishops, and the corrupt part of the Clergie, who cherish formality, and superstition, as the naturall effects, and more probable supports of their own Ecclesiasticall Tyranny, and Vsurpation.*

3 *Such Counsellors and Courtiers as for private ends have engaged themselves, to further the interests of some forreigne Princes, or States, to the prejudice of his Majesty, and the State at home.*

The common Principles by which they moulded and governed all their particular Counsels and Actions were these.

First, To mayntain continuall differences, and discontents betwixt the King, and the People upon Questions of Prerogative and Liberty, that so they might have the advantage of siding with him, and under the notions of men, addicted to his service, gain to themselves and their parties, the places of greatest trust and power in the Kingdom.

A second, To suppresse the purity and power of Religion, and such as were best affected to it; as being contrary to their own ends, and the greatest impediment to that change, which they thought to introduce.

A third, To conjoyn those parties of the Kingdome, which were most propitious to their own ends, and to divide those who were most opposite, which consisted in many particular Observations; to cherish the Arminian *part in those points, wherein they agree with the Papists, to multiply and enlarge the difference betweene the common Protestants, and*

those whom they call Puritans, to introduce and countenance such Opinions and Ceremonies, as are fittest for accommodation with Popery, to encrease and mayntain ignorance, loosnesse and prophanenesse in the people: That of those three parties, Papists, Arminians, *and* Libertines, *they might compose a body fit to act such counsels and resolutions, as were most conducible to their own ends.*

A fourth, To disaffect the King to Parliament by slanders, and false imputations, and by putting him upon other wayes of supply, which in shew and appearance were fuller of advantage then the ordinary course of Subsidies, though in truth they brought more losse than gain, both to the King and People, and have caused the distractions, under which we both suffer.

As in all compounded bodies, the Operations are qualified according to the predominant Element; So in this mixt party, the Jesuited Councels being most active and prevailing, may easily be discovered to have had the greatest sway in all their determinations, and if they be not prevented, are likely to devoure the rest, or to turn them into their own nature.

In the beginning of his Majesties Reign, the party begun to revive and flourish again, having been somewhat dampt by the breach with *Spain* in the last yeer of King *James*, and by his Majesties Marriage with *France*; the interests and Counsels of that State, being not so contrary to the good of Religion, and the prosperity of this Kingdom. as those of *Spain*; and the Papists of *England*, having been ever more addicted to *Spain*, then *France*; yet they still retained a pur pose, and resolution to weaken the Protestant parties in all parts, and even in *France*, whereby to make way for the change of Religion, which they intended at home.

The first effect and evidence of their recovery and strength was the dissolution of the Parliament at *Oxford*, after there had been given two Subsidies to his Majesty; and before they received relief in any one Grievance, many other more miserable effects followed.

The losse of the *Rochel* Fleet, by the help of our Shipping, set forth and delivered over to the *French*, in opposition to the advice of Parliament, which left that Town without defence by Sea, and made

way not only to the losse of that important place, but likewise to the losse of all the strength and security of the Protestant Religion in *France*.

The diverting of his Majesties course of wars from the West-Indies, which was the most facile and hopefull way for this Kingdome to prevail against the *Spaniard*, to an expencefull and successless attempt upon *Cales*, which was so ordered, as if it had rather bin intended to make us weary of War, then to prosper in it.

The precipitate breach which * *France* by taking their Ships to a great value, without making recompence to the English, whose goods were thereupon embar'd and confiscate in that Kingdom.

The Peace with *Spain* without consent of Parliament, contrary to the promise of K. *James* to both Houses; whereby the *Palatine* Cause was deserted, and left to chargeable and hopelesse Treaties, which, for the most part, were managed by those, who might justly be suspected to be no Friends to that Cause.

The charging of the Kingdom with Billeted Souldiers in all parts of it, and that Concomitant designe of *Germane* Horse, that the Land might either submit with fear, or be enforced with rigour to such Arbitrary Contributions, as should be required of them.

The dissolving of the Parliament in the second yeer of his Majesties Reign, after a Declaration of their intent, to grant five Subsidies

The exacting of the like proportion of five Subsidies after the Parliament dissolved, by Commission of Loan; and divers Gentlemen and others imprisoned for not yielding to pay that Loan, whereby many of them contracted such sicknesses, as cost them their lives. Great summes of money required, and raised by Privy Seals. An unjust and pernicious attempt to extort great payments from the Subject, by way of Excise; and a Commission issued under Seal to that purpose. The petition of Right, which was granted in full Parliament, blasted with an illegall Declaration, to make it destructive to it selfe, to the power of Parliament, to the Liberty of the subject, and to that purpose printed with it; and the Petition made of no use, but to shew the bold and presumptuous injustice of such Ministers as durst

* Sic.—With.

breake the Lawes, and suppresse the Liberties of the Kingdom, after they had been so solemnly and evidently declared.

Another Parliament dissolved, 4 *Car.* the privilege of Parliament broken, by imprisoning divers Members of the House, detaining them close prisoners for many moneths together, without the liberty of using Books, Pen, Inke, or Paper, denying them all the comforts of life, all means of preservation of health, not permitting their wives to come unto them, even in time of their sicknesse. And for the compleating of that crueltie, after yeers spent in such miserable durance, depriving them of the necessary means of Spirituall consolation, not suffering them to go abroad to enjoy Gods Ordinances in Gods House, or Gods Ministers to come to them, to administer comfort unto them in their private Chambers: and to keepe them still in this oppressed condition, not admitting them to be bailed according to Law, yet vexing them with Informations in inferiour Courts, sentencing and fining some of them for matters done in Parliament, and extorting the payments of those Fines from them, enforcing others to put in security of good behaviour, before they could be released.

The imprisonment of the rest which refused to be bound, still continued; which might have been perpetuall, if necessitie had not the last yeer brought another Parliament to relieve them; of whom, one died, by the cruelty and harshnesse of his imprisonment, which would admit of no relaxation notwithstanding the imminent danger of his life, did sufficiently appeare by the declaration of his Physician; And his release, or at least, his refreshment, was sought by many humble Petitions. And his bloud still cryes either for vengeance, or repentance of those Ministers of State, who have at once obstructed the course both of his Majesties Justice and Mercy.

Upon the dissolution of both these Parliaments, untrue and scandalous Declarations published, to asperse their proceedings, and some of their Members, unjustly to make them odious, and colour the violence which was used against them. Proclamations set out to the same purpose; and to the great dejecting of the hearts of the people, forbidding them, even to speak of Parliaments.

After the breach of Parliament, in the fourth yeer of His Majesty, Injustice, Oppression, and Violence, broke in upon us, without any

restraint or moderation; and yet the first project, was the great summes exacted thorow the whole Kingdome, for default of Knighthood, which seemed to have some colour and shadow of a Law, yet if it be rightly examined by that obsolete Law which was pretended for it, it would be found to be against all the rules of Justice, both in respect of the persons charged, the proportion of the Fines demanded, and the absurd and unreasonable manner of their proceedings. Tonnage and Poundage hath been received without colour or pretence of Law: many other heavy impositions continued against Law: and some so unreasonable, that the summe of the charge, exceeds the value of the Goods. The Booke of Rates lately inhansed to a high proportion; and such Merchants as would not submit to their illegall and unreasonable payments, were vexed and oppressed above measure; and the ordinary course of Justice, the common Birth-right of the Subject of *England*, wholly obstructed unto them. And although all this was taken upon pretence of guarding the Sea, yet a new and unheard of Tax of Ship-money was devised, upon the same pretence. By both which, there was charged upon the Subject neer 700,000 pounds some yeers; and yet the Merchants have been left so naked to the violence of the Turkish Pyrats that many great Ships of value, and thousands of His Majesties Subjects have been taken by them, and do still remayn in miserable slavery.

The enlargement of Forrests, contrary to *Charta de Foresta*, and the composition thereupon. The exactions of Coat and Coduct money, and divers other Military charges. The taking away the Arms of the Trained Bands of divers Counties. The desperate designe of engrossing all the Gun-powder into one hand, keeping it in the Tower of *London*, and setting so high a Rate upon it, that the poorer sort were not able to buy it, nor could any have it without Licence; thereby to leave the severall parts of the Kingdome destitute of their necessary defence; and by selling so dear that which was sold, to make an unlawfull advantage of it, to the great charge and detriment of the Subject, the generall destruction of the King's Timber, especially that in the Forrest of *Dean*, sold to Papists, which was the best Store-house of this Kingdom, for the mayntenance of our Shipping, The taking away of men's right, under colour of the King's title to Land between high and low water-Marks. The Monopolies of Soape, Salt, Wine, Leather, Sea-cole, and in a manner, of all things of most common and necessary use. The restraint of the

Liberties of the Subjects in their habitation, Trades, and other Interest. Their vexation and oppression by Purveyors, Clerks of the Market, and Salt-Peter-men. The sale of pretended Nuzances, as Buildings in and about *London*, conversion of Arable into Pasture, continuance of Pasture, under the name of depopulation, have drawn many Millions out of the Subjects Purses, without any considerable profit to his Majesty, Large quantities of Common, and severall Grounds, have been taken from the Subject, by colour of the Statute of Improvement, and by abuse of the Commission of Sewers, without their consent, and against it. And not only private Interest, but also publike faith have bin broken, in seizing of the mony and Bullion in the Mint; and the whole Kingdom liked to be robb'd at once, in that abominable project of Brasse Money. Great numbers of his Majesties Subjects, for refusing those unlawfull charges, have beene vext with long and expensive suits; some fined and censured, others committed to long and hard imprisonments and confinements, to the losse of health of many, of life in some; and others have had their houses broken up, their goods seized, some have beene restrained from their lawfull Callings: Ships have been interrupted in their Voyages, surprized at Sea in an Hostile manner by Projectors, as by a common Enemy: Merchants prohibited to unlade their goods in such Ports, as were for their own advantage, and forced to bring them to those places, which were most for the advantages of the Monopolizers and Projectors. The Court of Star-chamber hath abounded in extravagant censures, not only for the mayntenance and improvement of Monopolies, and other unlawfull taxes; but for divers other Causes, where there hath beene no offence, or very small; whereby his Majesties Subjects have beene oppressed by grievous Fines, Imprisonments, Stigmatizings, Mutilations, Whippings, Pillories, Gags, Confinements, Banishments; after so rigid a manner, as hath not only deprived men of the society of their friends, exercise of their professions, comfort of Books, use of Paper or Ink, but even violated that neer Union, which God hath Establisht betwixt Men and their Wives, by forced and constrained separation, whereby they have bin bereaved of the comfort and conversation one of another for many yeers together without hope of relief; if God had not by his over-ruling Providence, given some interruption to the prevailing power, and Counsell of those who were the Authors and Promoters of such peremptory and heady courses.

Judges have been put out of their places, for refusing to do against

their Oaths, and Consciences: Others have bin so awed, that they durst not do their duties, and the better to hold a rod over them, the Clause *quam diu se bene gesserit* was left out of their Patents, and a new Clause *Durante bene placito* inserted. Lawyers have been checkt, for being faithfull to their Clients; Solicitors and Atturneys have bin threatned, and some punished for following lawfull Suits: And by this means all the approaches to Justice were interrupted and forecluded. New Oaths have bin forced upon the Subject against Law; new Judicatories erected without Law: The Councell Table have, by their Orders, offered to bind the Subjects in their Free-holds, Estates, Suits, And Actions. The pretended Court of the Earl *Marshall* was Arbitrary, and Illegal in its being, and proceedings. The Chancery, Exchequer-chamber, Court of Wards, and other English Courts have bin grievous in exceeding their Jurisdiction. The estate of many Families weakened; and some ruined by excessive Fines, exacted from them for compositions of Wardships. All Leases of above a hundred yeeres, made to draw on Wardship contrary to Law. Undue proceedings used in the finding of Offices, to make the Jury finde for the King. The Common-law Courts, seeing all Men more inclined to seek Justice there, where it may be fitted to their own desire, are known frequently to forsake the Rules of the Common-law, and straining beyond their bounds, under pretence of equity to doe Injustice. Titles of Honour, Judiciall places, Serjeantships at Law, and other Offices, have bin sold for great summes of money; whereby the common Justice of the Kingdom hath bin much endangered, not only by opening a way of employment in places of great trust, and advantage to Men of Weak parts; but also by giving occasion to Bribery, Extortion, Partiality; It seldom hapning that places ill-gotten are well used. Commissions have bin granted for examining the excesse of Fees: and when great exactions have bin discovered, Compositions have bin made with Delinquents, not only for the time past, but likewise for immunity and security in offending for the time to come; which under colour of remedy, hath but confirmed, and encreased the Grievance to the subject. The usuall course of pricking Sheriffs, not observed, but many times Sheriffs made in an extraordinary way; sometimes as a punishment and charge unto them; sometimes such were pricked out, as would be instruments to execute whatsoever they would have to be done.

The Bishops and the rest of the Clergy, did triumph in the sus-

pensions, Excommunications, Deprivations, and Degradations of divers painfull, learned and pious Ministers, in the vexation, and grievous oppression of great numbers of His Majesties good subjects. The High Commission grew to such excesse of sharpnesse and severity, as was not much lesse then the Romish Inquisition; and yet in many cases by the Archbishops power, was made much more heavy, being assisted, and strengthened by authority of the Council Table.

The Bishops, and their Courts, were as eager in the Countrey and although their Jurisdiction could not reach so high in rigour, and extremity of punishment, yet were they no lesse grievous, in respect of the generality, and multiplicity of vexations, which lightning upon the meaner sort of Tradesmen, and Artificers, did impoverish many thousands, and so afflict and trouble others, that great numbers, to avoid their miseries, departed out of the Kingdome, some into *New England*, and other parts of *America*, others into *Holland*, where they have transported their Manufactures of Cloth, which is not only a losse by diminishing the present stock of the Kingdom, but a great mischiefe by impairing and endangering the losse of that peculiar Trade of Cloathing which hath bin a plentifull Fountain of Wealth and Honour to this Nation. Those were fittest for Ecclesiasticall preferment, and soonest obtained it, who were most officious in promoting superstition, most virulent in rayling against Godlinesse, and Honesty.

The most publike and solemn Sermons before His Majesty were, either to advance Prerogative above Law, and Decry the property of the subject, or full of such kind of Invectives; whereby they might make those odious who sought to maintain the Religion, Laws and Liberties of the Kingdome; and such men were sure to be weeded out of the Commission of the Peace, and out of all other employments of power in the Government of the Countrey. Many noble Personages were Councellors in name; but the power and authority remained in a few of such, as were most addicted to this party; whose resolutions, and determinations were brought to the Table, for countenance and execution and not for debate, and deliberation; and no Man could offer to oppose them, without disgrace, and hazard to himselfe: Nay, all those that did not wholly concur and actively contribute to the furtherance of their designes, though other-

wise persons of never so great Honour, and Abilities, were so far from being employed in any place of trust, and power, that they were neglected, discountenanced, and upon all occasions injured and oppressed. This Faction was growne to that height, and entirenesse of power, that now they began to think of finishing their Worke, which consisted of these three parts.

1. *The Government must be set free from all restraint of Laws concerning our Persons and States.*

2. *There must be a conjunction betwixt Papists and Protestants in Doctrine, Discipline, and Ceremonies; only it must not yet be called Poperie.*

3. *The Puritans under which name, they include all those that desire to preserve the Laws, and Liberties of the Kingdome, and to maintain Religion in the power of it; must be either rooted out of the Kingdome with force, or driven out with feare. For the effecting of this, It was thought necessary to reduce* Scotland *to such Popish Superstitions, and Innovations, as might make them apt to joyne with* England, *in that great change which was intended. Whereupon new Canons, and a new Liturgie were prest upon them; and when they refused to admit of them, an Army was raised to force them to it towards which the Clergie, and the Papists were very forward in their contribution. The* Scots *likewise raised an Army for their defence; And when both Armies were come together, and ready for a bloody encounter, His Majesties own gracious disposition, and the Councell of the* English *Nobilitie and dutifull submission of the* Scots, *did so far prevaile against the evil Councell of others, that a Pacification was made, and His Majestie returned with Peace, and much honour to* London.

The unexpected reconciliation was most acceptable to all the Kingdome, except the malignant party, whereof the Archbishop and the Earl of *Strafford* being heads, they and their faction begun to inveigh against the Peace, and to aggravate the proceeding of the States, which so incensed his Majesty, that hee forthwith prepared again for War. And such was their confidence, that having corrupted and distempered the whole frame and Government of the Kingdome, they did now hope to corrupt that which was the onely meanes to restore all to a right frame and temper again: to which end they perswaded His Majesty to call a Parliament, not to seeke counsell

and advice of them, but to draw countenance and supply from them, and engage the whole Kingdome in their Quarrell: and in the mean time, continued al their unjust Levies of Money, resolving either to make the Parliament pliant to their Will, and to establish mischiefe by a Law, or else to break it; and with more colour to goe on by violence, to take what they could not obtain by consent. The ground alleadged for the justification of this War was this.

That the undutifull Demands of the Parliament of *Scotland*, was a sufficient reason for His Majesty to take Armes against them without hearing the Reason of those Demands; And thereupon a new Army was prepared against them, their Ships were seized in all Ports, both of *England* and *Ireland*, and at Sea. Their Petitions rejected, their Commissioners refused Audience. This whole Kingdome most miserably distempered with Levies of Men and Money and Imprisonments of those who denied to submit to those Levies. The Earle of *Strafford* past into *Ireland*, caused the Parliament there to declare against the Scots, to give foure Subsidies towards that War; and to ingage themselves, their lives and fortunes for the prosecution of it, and gave directions for an Army of eight thousand foot, and one thousand horse, to be levied there, which were for the most part Papists. The Parliament met upon the thirteenth of *Aprill*, one thousand six hundred and forty. The Earle of *Strafford* and Archbishop of *Canterbury*, with their party so prevailed with His Majesty, that the *House of Commons* was prest to yield to a Supply for maintenance of the War with *Scotland*, before they had provided any reliefe for the great and pressing Grievances of the people, which being against the fundamentall Priviledge and proceeding of Parliament, was yet in humble respect to his Majesty, so far admitted, as that they agreed to take the matter of Supply into consideration, and two severall days it was debated. Twelve Subsidies were demanded for the release of Ship-money alone; A third day was appointed for Conclusion, when the Heads of that Party begun to feare the people might close with the King in satisfying his desire of Money: But that withall they were like to blast their malicious designes against *Scotland*, finding them very much indisposed to give any countenance to that War.

Thereupon they wickedly advised the King to break off the Parliament, and to return to the ways of Confusion, in which their owne evill intentions were most like to prosper and succeed.

After the Parliament ended the fifth of *May*, one thousand six hundred and forty, this Party grew so bold, as to counsell the King to Supply Himselfe out of His Subjects States by his own Power, at his own Will, without their consent. The very next day, some *Members of both Houses* had their Studies and Cabinets, yea their Pockets searched: Another of them not long after was committed close prisoner, for not delivering some Petitions which hee received by authority of that *House*, and if harsher courses were intended (as was reported) it is very probable that the sicknesse of the Earle of *Strafford* and the Tumultuous rising in *Southwarke*, and about *Lambeth*, were the causes that such violent intentions were not brought to execution. A false and scandalous Declaration against the *House of Commons*, was published in His Majesties Name, which yet wrought little effect with the people, but only to manifest the impudence of those who were Authors of it.

A forced Loan of money was attempted in the City of *London*.

The Lord Major and Aldermen in their severall Wards enjoyned to bring in a list of the Names of such persons as they judged fit to lend, and of the sum they should lend. And such Aldermen as refused so to doe, were committed to prison.

The *Archbishop* and the other *Bishops* and *Clergie* continued the *Convocation*, and by a new Commission turned it to a *Provinciall Synod*, in which by an unheard-of presumption, they made *Canons* that containe in them many matters contrary to the Kings Prerogative, to the fundamentall Lawes and statutes of the Realme, to the right of *Parliaments*, to the Property and Liberty of the subject, and matters tending to sedition, and of dangerous consequence, thereby establishing their own Usurpations justifying their Altar worship, and those other superstitious Innovations, which they formerly introduced without warrant of Law.

They imposed a new Oath upon divers of his Majesties Subjects, both *Ecclesiastical* and *Lay*, for maintenance of their own Tyranny; and laid a great Tax upon the Clergie for supply of his Majestie; and generally they shewed themselves very affectionate to the war with *Scotland*, which was by some of them styled *Bellum Episcopale;* and a Prayer composed, and enjoyned to be read in all Churches,

calling the *Scots Rebels*, to put the two Nations into bloud, and make them irreconcileable. All those pretended *Canons* and *Constitutions* were armed with the severall Censures of *suspension*, *Excommunication*, *Deprivation*, by which they would have thrust out all the good Ministers, and most of the well affected people of the Kingdome, and left an easie passage to their owne Designe of Reconciliation with *Rome*. The *Popish* party enjoyned such Exemptions from the *Penall Lawes*, as amounted to a Tolleration, besides many other encouragements, and Court favours; They had a Secretary of State, Sir *Francis Windibank* a powerfull Agent for the speeding of all their desires, a *Popes Nuntio* residing here to act and governe them according to such influences as he received from *Rome*, and to intercede for them with the most powerfull concurrence of the forreigne Princes of that Religion: By his authority the *Papists* of all sorts, Nobility, Gentry, and Clergy were convocated, after the manner of a *Parliament*, new Jurisdictions were erected of *Romish Archbishops*, Taxes levied, another State moulded within this State independant in Government, contrary in interest and affection, secretly corrupting the ignorant or negligent professors of our Religion, and closely uniting and combining themselves against such as were found, in this posture waiting for an opportunitie by force to destroy those, whom they could not hope to seduce. For the affecting whereof, they were strengthened with Armes and Munition, encouraged by superstitious Prayers, enjoyned by the *Nuncio* to be weekly made for the prosperity of some great designe. And such power had they at Court, that secretly a Commission was issued out, intended to be issued to some great Men of that profession for the levying of Souldiers, and to command and employ them according to private Instructions, which wee doubt were framed for the advantage of those were the contrivers of them: His Majesties Treasure was consumed, his Revenue anticipated. His servants and Officers compelled to lend great sums of money; Multitudes were called to the *Councell Table*, who were tired with long attendances there, for refusing illegall payments. The *Prisons* were filled with their Commitments; many of the Sheriffs summoned into the *Star chamber*, and some imprisoned for not being quick enough in levying the Ship-money, the people languished under grief, and feare, no visible hope being left, but in desperation. The Nobility began to be weary of their silence, and patience, and sensible of the duty, and trust which belongs to them: and thereupon some of the most eminent of them did petition his

Majesty at such a time when evill Councels were so strong, that they had reason to expect more hazard to themselves, then redresse of those publick evils for which they interceded: whilst the Kingdom was in this agitation and distemper, the *Scots* restrained in their trades impoverished by the losse of many of their Ships, bereaved of all possibility of satisfying His Majesty by any naked Supplication, entred with a powerfull Army into the Kingdom, and without any hostile Act or spoile in the Countrey as they passed, more then forcing a passage over the *Tyne* at *Newborne*, neer *Newcastle*, possessed themselves of *Newcastle*, and had a faire opportunity to presse on further upon the Kings Army: but duty and reverence to His Majesty, and brotherly love to the *English* Nation, made them stay there, whereby the King had leisure to entertain better Councels; wherein God so blessed and directed him, that he summoned the great Councell of Peers to meet at *Yorke*, upon the twenty fourth of *September*, and there declared a Parliament to begin the third of November then following. The Scots the first day of the great Councell, presented an humble Petition to His Majesty, whereupon the Treaty was appointed at *Rippon*. A present Cessation of Arms agreed upon: and the full Conclusion of all differences referred to the the wisdome and care of the Parliament. At our first meeting, all Oppositions seemed to vanish, the mischiefs were so evident, which those evill Counsellors produced, that no Man durst stand up to defend them. Yet the worke itself afforded difficulty enough. The multiplied evills and corruption of sixteene yeeres strengthened by custome and authority, and the concurrent interest of many powerfull Delinquents were now to be brought to judgement and reformation. The Kings Houshold was to be provided for, they had brought him to that want, that he could not supply his ordinary, and necessary expenses, without the assistance of his people. Two Armies were to be payed, which amounted very neer to eighty thousand pounds a moneth; the people were to be tenderly charged, having bin formerly exhausted with many burthensome Projects.

The difficulties seemed to be insuperable, which by the Divine Providence wee have overcome. The Contrarieties incompatible, which yet in a great measure we have reconciled. Six Subsidies have bin granted, and a Bill of Poll-money, which if it be duely levied may equall six Subsidies more, in all six hundred thousand pounds. Besides we have contracted a Debt to the Scots of 220 thousand

pounds; and yet God hath so blessed the endeavours of this Parliament, that the Kingdome is a great gainer by all these charges. The Ship-money is abolished which cost the Kingdome above 200 thousand pounds a yeer. The Coat and Conduct money, and other Military charges, are taken away, which in many Countries amounted to little lesse then the Ship-money. The Monoppolies are all supprest, whereof some few did prejudice the subject, above a Million yeerely. The Soap an hundred thousand pounds; the Wine three hundred thousand pounds; the Leather must needs exceed both: and Salt could be no lesse then that; besides the inferiour Monopolies, which if they could be exactly computed, would make up a great summe. That which is more beneficial then al this is, that the root of these evils is taken away, which was the arbitrary power pretended to be in his Majesty, of taxing the Subject, or charging their estates without consent in Parliament, which is now declared to be against Law, by the judgment of both Houses, and likewise by an Act of Parliament. Another step of great advantage is this: the living Grievances, the evill Councellors and Actors of these mischiefs have bin so quelled, by the justice done upon the Earle of *Strafford*, the flight of the Lord *Finch*, and Secretary *Windibank*, The accusation and imprisonment of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, of Judge *Bartlet*, and the impeachment of divers other Bishops and Judges, that it is like not onely to be an easie to the present times but a preservation to the future. The discontinuance of Parliaments is prevented by the Bill for a Trienniall Parliament, and the abrupt dissolution of this Parliament by another Bill; by which it is provided, it shall not be dissolved or adjourned without the consent of both Houses.

Which two Laws well considered, may be thought more advantageous then all the former, because they secure a full operation of the present remedy, and afford a perpetuall Spring of remedies for the future: The Star-chamber, the High Commission, the Courts of the President, and Councell in the North, were so many forges of misery, oppression, and violence, and are all taken away, whereby men are more secured in their persons, liberties, and estates, then they could be by any Law or Example for the regulation of those Courts, or terrour of the Judges; The immoderate power of the *Councell Table* and the excessive abuse of that power is so ordered and restrained, that we may well hope that no such things as were frequently done by them, to the prejudice of

the publicke liberty, will appear in future times but onely in stories, to give us and our posterity more occasion to praise God for his Majesties goodnesse, and the faithfull endeavours of this *Parliament.* The *Canons* and the power of *Canon* making, are blasted by the Vote of both *Houses.* The exhorbitant power of *Bishops* and their Courts, are much abated, by some Provisions in the Bill against the *High Commission Court.* The Authours of the many Innovations in Doctrine and Ceremonies; The Ministers that have been scandalous in their lives, have bin so terrified in just complaints and accusations, that we may well hope they will be more modest for the time to come; either inwardly convicted by the sight of their own folly, or outwardly restrained by the fear of punishment. The *Forrests* are by a good Law reduced to their right bounds; the encroachments and oppressions of the *Stannerie Courts;* The extortions of the *Clerke* of the Market, and the compulsion of the Subject to receive the Order of Knighthood against his will, paying of Fines for not receiving it, and the vexatious proceedings thereupon for levying of those Fines, are by other beneficiall Laws reformed and prevented. Many excellent Lawes and provisions are in preparation for removing the inordinate power, vexation, and usurpation of *Bishops*, for reforming the pride and idlenesse of many of the *Clergie*, for easing the people of unnecessary Ceremonies in Religion, for censuring and removing unworthy and unprofitable Ministers; and for maintaining godly and diligent Preachers through the Kingdom: Other things of mayn importance for the good of this Kingdom, are in proposion, though little could hitherto be done, in regard of the many other more pressing businesses, which yet before the end of this Session, wee hope may receive some progresse and perfection. The establishing and ordering the Kings Revenue, that so the abuse of Officers, and superfluity of expences may be cut off, and the necessary disbursments for his Majesties Honour, the defence and government of the Kingdome, may be more certainly provided for. The regulating of Courts of Justice, and abridging both the delays and charges of Law Suits; The setling of some good courses for preventing the exportation of Gold and Silver, and the inequality of exchanges betwixt us and other Nations, for the advancing of native Commodities, increase of our Manufactures, and well ballancing of Trade, whereby the Stock of the Kingdome may be increased, or at least kept from impairing; as through neglect hereof it hath done for many yeeres last past; For improving the Herring fishing, upon our

own Coasts, which will be of mighty use in the imployment of the poore, and a plentifull Nursery of Mariners for inabling the Kingdome in any great Action. The oppositions, obstructions, and other Difficulties wherewith we have bin encountred, and which still lye in our way with some strength and much obstinacie are these: The malignant Party whom we have formerly described, to be the Actors and Promoters of all our misery, they have taken heart againe; They have been able to prefer some of their own Factors and Agents to degrees of honour, to places of trust and employment even during the Parliament. They have endeavoured to work in his Majesty ill impressions and opinions of Our Proceedings, as if we had altogether done our own worke, and not His, and had obtained from him many things very prejudiciall to the Crown, both in respect of Prerogative and Profit. To wipe out this slander, Wee think good onely to say thus much: That all that Wee have done, is for His Majesty, His Greatnesse, Honour, and Support, when Wee yeelded to give twenty five thousand pounds a moneth for the reliefe of the Northern Countries, this was given to the King, for hee was bound to protect his Subjects, they were his Majesties evill Counsellors, and their ill instruments that were Actors in those grievances which brought in the *Scots:* and if His Majesty please to force those who were the Authours of this War to make satisfaction, as hee might justly and easily doe, it seemes very reasonable that the people might well be excused from taking upon them this burthen, being altogether innocent and free from being any causes of it.

When we undertook the charge of the Army, which cost above 50000 l. a moneth, was not this given to the King? was it not his Majesties Army? were not all the Commanders under contract with His Majestie at Higher rates and greater wages then ordinary? and have not wee taken upon us to discharge all the brotherly assistance of three hundred thousand pounds which wee gave the *Scots?* was it not toward repaire of those damages and losses which they received from the Kings ships, and from his Ministers? These three particulars amount to above 1100. thousand pounds, besides his Majesty hath received by impositions upon Merchandise at least 400 thousand pounds; so that his Majesty hath had out of the Subjects purse since the Parliament began, one Million and an halfe, and yet these men can be so impudent, as to tell His Majesty, that we have done nothing for him. As to the second branch of this slander, wee

acknowledge with much thankfulnesse that his Majesty hath passed more good Bils to the advantage of the Subjects then have bin in many ages; but withall we cannot forget, that these venemous counsels did manifest themselves in some endeavours to hinder these good Acts: and for both Houses of Parliament we may with truth and modesty say thus much. That we have ever bin carefull not to desire any thing that should weaken the Crowne either in just profit or usefull power. The trienniall Parliament, for the matter of it, doth not extend to so much as by Law wee ought to have required, there being two Statutes still in force for a Parliament to be once a yeer; and for the manner of it, it is in the Kings power, that it shall never take effect, if hee by a timely summons shall prevent any other way of assembling. In the Bill for continuance of this present Parliament, there seems to be some restraint of the Royall Power in dissolving of Parliaments, not to take it out of the Crown, but to suspend the execution of it for this time and occasion onely, which was so necessary for the Kings own security, and the publick Peace, that without it we could not have undertaken any of these great charges, but must have left both the Armies to disorder and confusion, and the whole Kingdome to bloud and rapine. The Star-chamber was much more fruitfull in oppression then in profit, the great fines being for the most part given away, and the rest stalled at long times. The fines of the High Commission were in themselves unjust and seldome or never came into the Kings Purse. These foure Bils are particularly and more specially instanced, in the rest there will not be found so much as a shadow of prejudice to the Crown. They have sought to diminish our reputation with the people, and to bring them out of love with Parliaments: the aspersions which they have attempted this way, have bin such as these, That wee have spent much time and done little, especially in those grievances which concerne Religion. That the Parliament is a burthen to the Kingdom by the abundance of Protections which hinder Justice and Trade, and by many Subsidies granted, much more heavy then any they formerly endured; to which there is a ready Answer: if the time spent in this Parliament be considered in relation backward to the long growth and deep root of those grievances, which we have removed, to the powerfull supports of those Delinquents, which wee have pursued, to the great necessities and other charges of the Commonwealth for which we have provided: or if it be considered in relation forward to many advantages, which not onely the present, but future ages are like to

reap by the good Laws and other proceedings in this Parliament, wee doubt not but it will be thought by all indifferent judgments, that our time hath bin much better imployed then in a far greater proportion of time in many former Parliaments put together; & the charges which have bin laid upon the Subject, & the other inconveniences which they have born, will seem very light in respect of the benefit they have and may receive. And for the matter of protections, the Parliament is so sensible of it that therein they intend to give them whatsoever ease may stand with Honour and Justice; and are in a way of passing a Bill to give them satisfaction. They have sought by many subtile practices, to cause jealousies and divisions betwixt us and our brethren of *Scotland*, by slandering their proceedings and intentions towards us, and by secret endeavours to instigate and incense them and us one against another. They have had such a party of Bishops and popish Lords in the House of Peeres as hath caused much opposition and delay in the prosecution of Delinquents, hindred the proceedings of divers good Bils passed in the Commons House, concerning the reformation of sundry great abuses and corruptions both in Church and State. They have laboured to seduce and corrupt some of the Commons House, to draw them into conspiracies and combinations against the liberty of the Parliament: And by their instruments and agents they have attempted to disaffect and discontent his Majesties Army, and to ingage it for the maynтenance of their wicked and traiterous designes, the keeping up of Bishops in votes and functions, and by force to compell the Parliament to order, limit, and dispose their proceedings in such manner as might best concur with the intentions of this dangerous and potent faction: And when one michievous designe, and attempt, of theirs to bring on the Army against the Parliament, and the City of *London* had beene discovered and prevented, they presently undertooke another of the same damnable nature, with this addition to it, to endeavour to make the Scottish Army neutrall, whilest the English Army, which they had laboured to corrupt and invenome against us by their false and slanderous suggestions, should execute their malice to the subvertion of our Religon, and the dissolution of our government. Thus they have been continually practizing to disturbe the peace, and plotting the destruction even of all the Kings Dominions, and have employed their Emissaries and Agents in them, all for the promoting of their divellish Designes, which the vigilancy of those who were wel affected hath still discovered and

defeated before they were ripe for execution in *England* and *Scotland;* onely in *Ireland* which was farther off, they have had time and opportunity to mould and prepare their work, and had brought it to that perfection that they had possessed themselves of that whole Kingdome, totally subverted the government of it, rooted out Religion, and destroyed all the Protestants whom the conscience of their duty to God, their King and Country would not have permitted to joyne with them, if by Gods wonderfull providence their main enterprise upon the City and Castle of *Dublin*, had not beene detected and prevented upon the very Eeve before it should have beene executed. Notwithstanding they have in other parts of that Kingdome broken out into open Rebellion, surprized Townes and Castles, committed murders, rapes, and other villanies; and shaken of all bonds of obedience to his Majesty, and the lawes of the Realme; and in generall have kindled such a fire, as nothing but Gods infinite blessing upon the wisdom and endeavours of this State will be able to quench it: and certainly had not God in his great mercy unto this Land discovered and confounded their former designes, wee had been the Prologue to this Tragedy in *Ireland*, and had by this time been made the lamentable spectacle of misery and confusion. And now what hope have we but in God, when as the onely means of our subsistence, and power of Reformation is under him, in the Parliament; but what can wee the Commons without the conjunction of the House of Lords, and what conjunction can we expect there, when the Bishops and Recusant Lords are so numerous and prevalent, that they are able to crosse and interrupt our best endeavours for Reformation, and by that means give advantage to this malignant party to traduce our proceedings? They infuse into the people, that we meane to abolish all Church-government, and leave every man to his own fancy for the service and worship of God, absolving him of that obedience, which he owes under God unto his Majesty, whom wee know to be intrusted with the Ecclesiasticall Law as wel as with the Temporall, to regulate all the members of the Church of *England*, by such rules of Order and Discipline as are established by Parliament which is his great Counsell, in all Affairs both in Church and State. Wee confesse our intention is, and our endeavours have been to reduce within bounds that exorbitant power which the Prelates have assumed unto themselves so contrary both to the Word of God, and to the Laws of the Land, to which end we past the Bil for the removing them from their temporal

power and employments, that so the better they might with meeknes apply themselves to the discharge of their Functions, which Bil themselves opposed, and were the principall instruments of crossing it.

And we do here declare, that it is far from our purpose or desire to let loose the golden rayns of Discipline, and Government in the Church, to leave private persons or particular Congregations to take up what forme of divine Service they please; for wee hold it requisite that there should be throughout the whole Realme a conformity to that Order which the Laws enjoyn, according to the Word of God: and we desire to unburthen the consciences of men of needlesse and superstitious Ceremonies, suppresse innovations, and take away the monuments of Idolatry. And the better to effect the intended Reformation: we desire there may be a generall Synod of the most grave, pious, learned, and judicious Divines of this Island, assisted with some from forreigne parts professing the same Religion with us, who may consider of all things necessary for the peace and good government of the Church, and represent the results of their consultations unto the Parliament to be there allowed of and confirmed, and receive the stamp of authority, thereby to finde passage and obedience throughout the Kingdom. They have maliciously charged us that wee intend to destroy and discourage Learning, whereas it is our chiefest care and desire to advance it, and to provide a competent mayntenance for conscionable and preaching Ministers throughout the Kingdom, which will be a great encouragement to Schollers, and a certain means whereby the want, meannesse, and ignorance to which a great part of the Clergy is now subject, will be prevented. And we intend likewise to reform, and purge the Fountains of Learning the two Universities, that the streams flowing from thence may be cleer and pure, and an honour and comfort to the whole Land. They have strained to blast our proceedings in Parliament by wresting the interpretations of our Orders from their genuine intention. They tell the people that our medling with the power of Episcopacy, hath caused Sectaries and Conventicles, when Idolatry and Popish Ceremonies introduced into the Church by the command of the Bishops, have not onely debarred the people from thence, but expelled them from the Kingdom. Thus with *Eliah* we are called by this Malignant party the troublers of the State, and still while wee endeavour to reforme their abuses, they make us the Authors of those mischiefes

we study to prevent: for the perfecting of the work begun, and removing all future impediments, wee conceive these courses will be very effectuall seeing the Religion of the Papists hath such principles as do certainly tend to the destruction and extirpation of all Protestants when they shall have opportunity to effect it.

It is necessary in the first place to keep them in such condition, as that they may not be able to do us any hurt, and for avoiding of such connivence and favour as hath heretofore bin showed unto them. That his Majesty be pleased to grant a standing Commission to some choice men named in Parliament, who may take notice of their increase, their counsels and proceedings, and use all due means by execution of the Laws to prevent any mischievous designes against the peace and safety of this Kingdom. That some good course be taken to discover the counterfeit and false conformity of papists to the Church, by colour whereof persons very much disaffected to the true Religion have been admitted into place of greatest authority and trust in the Kingdom.

For the better preservation of the Laws and Liberties of the Kingdome, that all illegall grievances and exactions be presented and punished at the Sessions, and Assizes: and that Judges and Justices be carefull to give this in charge to the Grand Jury, and both the Sheriffe and Justices to be sworne to the due execution of the Petition of Right and other Laws: That his Majesty be humbly petitioned by both Houses to employ such Counsellours, Ambassadours, and other Ministers in managing his business at home and abroad, as the Parliament may have cause to confide in, without which we cannot give his Majesty such supplyes for support of his own estate, nor such assistance to the Protestant party beyond the Sea as is desired. It may often fall out that the Commons may have just cause to take exceptions at some men for being Counsellours, and yet not charge those men with crimes, for there be grounds of diffidence which lye not in proof; there are others which though they may be proved, yet are not legally criminall; to be a known favourer of Papists, or to have been very forward in defending or countenancing some great offenders questioned in Parliament, or to speak contemptuously of either Houses of Parliament, or Parliamentary proceedings, or such as are Factours or Agents for any Forreigne Prince of another Religion, such as are justly suspected to get Counsellours places or any other of trust concerning publick Imployment for

money: For all these and divers others wee may have great reason to be earnest with his Majesty not to put his great Affaires into such hands though wee may be unwilling to proceed against them in any legall way of charge or impeachment: That all Counsellours of State may be sworn to observe those Laws which concern the Subject in his liberty, that they may likewise take an Oath not to receive or give Reward or Pension from any Forreigne Prince, but such as they within some reasonable time discover to the Lords of his Majesties Councell: and although they should wickedly forsweare themselves, yet it may herein do good to make them knowne to be false and perjured to those who employ them, and thereby bring them into as little credit with them as with us, That his Majesty may have cause to be in love with good counsell and good men, by shewing him in an humble and dutifull manner, how full of advantage it would be to himself, to see his own estate setled in a plentifull condition to support his honour, to see his people united in ways of duty to him, and endeavours of the publick good; to see happinesse, wealth, peace and safety derived to his own Kingdom, and procured to his Allies by the influence of his own power and government. That all good courses may be taken to unite the two Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland* to be mutually ayding and assisting one another for the common good of the Island, and honour of both. To take away all differences amongst ourselves for matters indifferent in their own nature concerning Religion, and to unite ourselves against the common enemies, which are the better enabled by our divisions to destroy us all, as they hope and have often endeavoured. To labour by all offices of friendship to unite the Forreigne Churches with us in the same cause, and to seek their liberty, safety, and prosperity, as bound thereunto both by charity to them, and by wisdom for our own good. For by this means our own strength shall be encreased, and by a mutuall concurrence to the same common end, we shall be enabled to procure the good of the whole body of the Protestant Profession. If these things may be observed, wee doubt not but God will crown this Parliament with such successe as shall be the beginning and foundation of more honour and happinesse to his Majesty, then ever yet was enjoyed by any of his Royal Predecessors.

FINIS.

The Petition of the House of Commons, which accompanied the Declaration of the State of the Kingdom, when it was presented to His Majesty at *Hampton* Court.

Most Gracious Sovereigne,

Your Majesties most humble and faithfull Subjects the Commoners in this present Parliament assembled, do with much thankfulnesse and joy, acknowledge the great mercy and favour of God, in giving your Majesty a safe and peaceable return out of *Scotland* into your Kingdom of *England*, where the pressing dangers and distempers of the State have caused us with much earnestnesse to desire the comfort of your gracious presence, and likewise the Unitie and Justice of your Royall Authority to give more life and power to the dutifull and loyall Counsels, and endeavours of your Parliament, for the Prevention of that eminent ruine and destruction wherein your Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland* are threatned. The duty which we owe to your Majesty and our Country, cannot but make us very sensible and apprehensive, that the multiplicity, sharpnesse, and malignity of those Evils under which we have now many yeeres suffered, are fomented and cherished by a corrupt and ill-affected party, who amongst other their mischievous devices for the alteration of Religion and Government, have sought by many false scandals and imputations cunningly insinuated, and dispersed amongst the people, to blemish and disgrace our proceedings in this Parliament, and to get themselves a party and faction amongst your Subjects, for the better strengthening of themselves in their wicked courses, and hindering those provisions, and Remedies which might by the wisdome of your Majesty, and Counsell of your Parliament be opposed against them.

For preventing whereof, and the better information of your Majesty, your Peers, and all other your loyall Subjects, wee have been necessitated to make a Declaration of the state of the Kingdom, both before and since the Assembly of this Parliament unto this

time, which we do humbly present to your Majesty without the least intention to lay any blemish upon your Royall Person but only to represent how your Royall Authority and trust have been abused, to the great prejudice and danger of your Majesty, and of all your good Subjects.

And because wee have reason to believe that those malignant parties whose proceedings evidently appear to be, mainly for the advantage and encrease of Popery, is composed, set up, and acted by the subtile practice of the Jesuits, and other Engineers and Factors for *Rome*, and to the great danger of this Kingdom, and most grievous affliction of your loyall Subjects, have so far prevailed, as to corrupt divers of your Bishops, and others in prime places of the Church, and also to bring divers of these Instruments to be of your Privy Counsell, and other employments of trust and neernesse about your Majesty, the Prince, and the rest of your Royall children.

And by this meaus hath had such an operation in your Counsell, and the most important affaires and proceedings of your Government, that a most dangerous division and chargeable preparation for war betwixt your Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland* the increase of Jealousies betwixt your Majesty and your most obedient Subjects, the violent distraction and interruption of this Parliament, the insurrection of the Papists in your Kingdom of *Ireland*, and bloudy Massacre of your people, have been not only endeavoured and attempted, but in a great measure compassed and effected.

For preventing the final accomplishment whereof, your poor Subjects are enforced to engage their persons and estates to the maintaining of a very expencefull and dangerous War, notwithstanding they have already since the beginning of this Parliament undergone the charge of 150000 pounds sterling or thereabouts for the necessary support and supply of your Majesty in these present and perillous Designes. And because all our most faithfull endeavours, and engagements will be ineffectuall for the peace, safety, and preservation of your Majesty and your people, if some present, reall and effectuall course be not taken for suppressing this wicked and malignant party.

We your most humble and obedient Subjects doe with all faithfulnesse and humility beseech your Majesty,

1 THAT you will be graciously pleased to concur with the humble desires of your people in a Parliamentary way, for the preserving the peace and safety of the Kingdome from the malicious Designes of the Popish party.

For depriving the Bishops of their Votes in Parliament, and abridging their immoderate power usurped over the Clergy, and other your good Subjects, which they have most pernitiously abused to the hazard of Religion, and great prejudice and Oppression of the Laws of the Kingdom, and just liberty of your people.

For the taking away such oppressions in Religion, Church-government, and Discipline, as have been brought in and fomented by them.

For uniting all such your loyall Subjects together, as joyn in the same fundamentall truths against the Papists, by removing some oppressions and unnecessary Ceremonies, by which divers weak consciences have beene scrupled, and seeme to be divided from the rest, for the due execution of those good Lawes which have beene made for securing the liberty of your Subjects.

2. That your Majesty will likewise be pleased to remove from your Counsell all such as persist to favour, and promote any of those pressures and corruptions wherewith your people have been grieved, and that for the future your Majesty will vouchsafe to imploy such persons in your great and publick Affairs, and to take such to be neer you in places of trust, as your Parliament may have cause to confide in, that in your Princely goodnesse to your people, you will reject and refuse all mediation and solicitation to the contrary, how powerfull and neer soever.

3. That you will be pleased to forbear to alienate any of the forfeited and escheated Lands in *Ireland* which shall accrue to your Crown, by reason of this Rebellion, that out of them the Crown may be the better supported, and some satisfaction made to your Subjects of this Kingdom, for the great expenses they are like to undergo this War.

Which humble desires of ours being gratiously fulfilled by your Majesty, we will by the blessing and favour of God most cheerfully undergo the hazard and expenses of this War, and apply our selves to

such other courses and counsels as may support your Royall estate with honour and plenty at home, with power and reputation abroad, and by our loyall affections, obedience, and service, lay a sure and lasting foundation of the greatnesse and prosperity of your Majesty, and your Royall posterity in future times.

His Majesties answer to the Petition which accompanied the Declaration, presented to him at *Hampton* Court, 1 *December* 1641.

WE having received from you soon after Our Return out of *Scotland*, a long Petition, consisting of many desires of great moment, together with a Declaration of a very unusuall nature annexed thereunto, We had taken some time to consider of it, as befitted Us in a matter of that consequence, being confident, that your own reason and regard to Us, as well as Our expresse intimation by Our Comptroller to that purpose, would have restrained you from the publishing of it, till such time as you should have received Our Answer to it: But, much against Our expectation, finding the contrary, that the said Declaration is already abroad in Print, by directions from your House as appears by the printed Copy: Wee must let you know that wee are very sensible of the disrespect. Notwithstanding, it is Our Intention, that no failing on your part, shall make Us faile in Ours, of giving all due satisfaction to the desires of Our People, in a Parliamentary way; And therefore Wee send you this Answer to your Petition, reserving Our selfe in point of the Declaration, which Wee thinke unparliamentary, and shall take a course to doe that which Wee shall thinke fit in prudence and honour.

To the Petition, We say; that although there are divers things in the Preamble of it, which We are so far from admitting, that We professe We cannot at all understand them as, *Of a wicked and malignant party prevalent in the Government; Of some of that party admitted to Our Privy Councell, and to other Employments of trust,*

and neerest to Vs and Our Children; Of Endeavours to sow among the People false scandals and imputations, to blemish and disgrace the proceedings of the Parliament: All, or any of which, did Wee know of, Wee should be as ready to remedy and punish, as you to complaine of. That the prayers of your Petition are grounded upon such premisses as Wee must in no wise admit; yet notwithstanding Wee are pleased to give this Answer to you.

To the first concerning Religion, consisting of several branches, Wee say, that for the preserving the peace and safety of this Kingdome from the designes of the Popish partie, Wee have, and will still concur with all the just desires of Our people in a Parliamentary way; That for the depriving of the Bishops of their Votes in Parliament, We would have you consider, that their right is grounded upon the fundamentall Law of the Kingdome, and constitution of Parliament; This We would have you consider, but since you desire Our concurrence herein in a Parliamentary way, We will give no further answer at this time.

As for the abridging of the inordinate power of the Clergy, Wee conceive that the taking away of the High Commission Court hath well moderated that, but if there continue any Usurpations, or Excesses in their Jurisdictions, We therein neither have nor will protect them.

Unto that Clause which concerneth Corruptions (as you style them) in Religion, in Church Government, and in Discipline, and the removing of such unnecessary Ceremonies as weake Consciences might cheque at. That for any illegall Innovations, which may have crept in, We shall willingly concur in the removall of them. That if Our Parliament shall advise Us to call a Nationall Synod, which may duly examine such Ceremonies as give just cause of offence to any, We shall take it into consideration, and apply Our Self to give due satisfaction therein; But Wee are very sorry to heare in such generall termes Corruption in Religion objected, since Wee are perswaded in Our conscience that no Church can be found upon the earth that professeth the true Religion with more purity of Doctrine then the Church of *England* doth, nor where the Government and Discipline are joyntly more beautified, and free from Superstition, then as they are here established by Law, which (by the grace of

God) Wee will with constancy mayntaine (while Wee live) in their Purity and Glory, not only against all invasions of Popery, but also from the irreverence of those many Schismaticks and Separatists, wherewith of late this Kingdom and this City abounds, to the great dishonour and hazard both of Church and State; for the suppression of whom Wee require your timely aid and active assistance.

To the second prayer of the Petition, concerning the removall and choice of Counsellours, We know not any of Our Counsell to whom the Character set forth in the Petition can belong. That by those whom Wee had exposed to triall, We have already given you sufficient testimony, that there is no man so neere unto Us in place or affection, whom Wee will not leave to the Justice of the Law, if you shall bring a particular charge and sufficient proofs against him; and of this Wee do again assure you, but in the mean time We wish you to forbear such general aspersions as may reflect upon all Our Councell, since you name none in particular.

That for the choice of Our Counsellours and Ministers of State, it were to debar Us that naturall liberty all Freemen have, and it is the undoubted right of the Crown of *England*, to call such persons to Our Secret Counsels, to publick employment, and Our particular service, as Wee shall think fit, so Wee are, and ever shall be very carefull to make election of such persons in those places of trust, as shall have given good testimonies of their abilities and integrity, and against whom there can be no just cause of exception whereon reasonably to ground a diffidence; and to choices of this nature, Wee assure you that the mediation of the neerest unto Us hath always concurred.

To the third Prayer of your Petition, concerning *Ireland*. Wee understand your desire of not alienating the forfeited Lands thereof, to proceed from your much care and love; And likewise that it may be a Resolution very fit for Us to take, but whether it be seasonable to declare Resolutions of that nature before the events of a warre be seen, that Wee much doubt of. Howsoever, Wee cannot but thanke you for this care, and your cheerfull ingagement for the suppression of that Rebellion; upon the speedy effecting thereof, the glory of God in the Protestant Profession, the safety of the British there, Our honour, and that of the Nation so much depends; all the

Interests of this Kingdom being so involved in that businesse, We cannot but quicken your affections therein, and shall desire you to frame your Councels, and to give such expedition to the work, as the nature thereof, and the pressures in point of time requires, and whereof you are put in minde by the daily insolence and increase of those Rebels.

For Conclusion, your promise to apply yourselves to such courses as may support Our Royall Estate with Honour and Plenty at home, and with power and Reputation abroad, is that which We have ever promised Our Selfe, both from your Loyalties and Affections, and also for what Wee have already done, and shall daily go adding unto for the comfort and happiness of Our people.

FINIS.

"INTER FOLIA FRUCTUS."

A

HISTORICAL ENQUIRY

CONCERNING

Henry Hudson,

HIS

FRIENDS, RELATIVES, AND EARLY LIFE,

HIS

CONNECTION WITH THE MUSCOVY COMPANY

AND

Discovery of Delaware Bay.

ABRIDGED FROM THE WORK OF

JOHN MEREDITH READ, Jr.,

Of the Historical Society of Delaware,

AND EDITED BY

EDMUND GOLDSMID, F.R.H.S.,

Hon. Secretary of the Clarendon Historical Society, Corresponding Member of the Rhode Island Historical Society, &c., &c.

"History is but the unrolled scroll of Prophecy."

—James A. Garfield.

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The Life of Henry Hudson.

PEOPLE have been so long accustomed to regard Henry Hudson as the peculiar property of New York, that scarcely any one dreams of associating his name with the history of Delaware, and very few are aware that in point of time the latter state has a prior claim to him as her discoverer. Yet such is the fact. On the 28th of August, 1609, he entered and explored the waters to which that Common-wealth owes its name, whereas the Half Moon did not anchor within Sandy Hook until the evening of the 3d of September. New York is accordingly Delaware's younger sister.

Detailed accounts of four extraordinary voyages accomplished by him, have been preserved in the curious pages of *Purchas;* but, the most diligent efforts of the learned have thus far failed to elicit from any quarter, a single authentic incident connected with his early life.

His birth, his parentage, his home, his boyhood, the early days of his manhood, and the influences under which the character and genius of the great discoverer were first developed, would be, to all, matters of deep interest. Unfortunately, we are met at the very threshold of our investigations, by the fact that absolutely nothing is known of Hudson, prior to the 19th of April, 1607, when he suddenly appears upon the stage of action as a captain in the employ of the Muscovy Company, and after the brief period of five years of brilliant explorations in the service of the English and the Dutch, prematurely perishes by treachery amid the scenes of his triumphs.

In England we find that his memory is perpetuated in the title of

a gigantic trading corporation,* and in America, by common consent, his name is affixed to most of the great discoveries which he inaugurated and effected.

Before proceeding to sketch that portion of his history which is known, including his discovery of Delaware Bay, I shall endeavour to place before the reader as clearly as possible, the fruits of my researches into the early history of the family.

The biographies and notices of this great navigator, with scarcely an exception, refer to *Purchas, his Pilgrimes and Pligrimages*, as the fountain head of knowledge on the subject, or are based upon statements made by that author. The two latest and ablest contributions to his life are: *Henry Hudson in Holland*, by the Hon. Henry C. Murphy, late minister of the United States at the Hague, and *Henry Hudson, the Navigator*, by Dr. Asher, member of the Hakluyt Society of London.

The first mention of Hudson by *Purchas* occurs in connection with the Muscovy Company. Edge, in his *Brief Discoverie of the Muscovia Merchants*, says: "In the year 1608,† the said fellowship [the Muscovy or Russia Company] set forth a ship called the Hopewell, whereof Henry Hudson was master, to discover the pole."‡ Captain Fotherby, who was also in the employ of the Muscovy Company, speaks of having "perused Hudson's journal."§ But the earliest reference to a personal incident in the life of the great mariner is to be found in the journal of the first voyage, "of that worthy irrecoverable discoverer Master Henry Hudson," as given by Purchas.‖ "Anno, 1607, *April the nineteenth*, at S. Ethelburge, in Bishops Gate street, did communicate with the rest of the parishioners these persons, seamen, purposing to goe to sea foure dayes after, for to discover a passage by the North Pole to Japan and China. First, Henry Hudson, master. Secondly, William Colines, his mate. Thirdly, James Young. Fourthly, John Colman. Fiftly, John Cooke. Sixtly, James Beuberry. Seventhly, James Skrutton. Eightly, John Pleyce. Ninthly, Thomas Baxter. Tenthly, Richard Day. Eleventhly, James Knight. Twelfthly, John Hudson, a boy." A

* The Hudson's Bay Company.

† The real date of this voyage to Spitzbergen is 1607. That of 1608 was directed to Nova Zembla.

‡ *Purchas*, III., 464. § *ib.*, III, 730. ‖ *ib.*, III, 567.

singularly small crew, when we consider the extent and hazardous character of the explorations, which were principally along the coast of Spitzbergen; were undertaken for the Muscovy Company, and had for their object the discovery of a north-eastern passage to China.

The journal of the second voyage, made for a like purpose, in 1608, also at the expense of the Muscovy Company, and which resulted in making known a portion of Nova Zembla, next demands our attention.

In quick succession follow the records of Hudson's third voyage in 1609, when, in the service of the Dutch East India Company, he discovered New Netherland, and the account of his fourth and last voyage in 1610-11, in search of a north west passage to China. It was in this expedition, the cost of which was defrayed by several English gentlemen, of whom Sir Dudley Digges was one, that Hudson met his tragic end.

The omission of all allusion to the prior life of Hudson ought not so entirely to astonish us, when we remember the circumstances under which Purchas compiled his work. He states in his *Pilgrimage*, that he received the accounts of Hudson's first three voyages from Hakluyt. Now we find in the valuable introduction to Sir Henry Middleton's *East India Voyage** by Bolton Corney, the following interesting paragraph intended to account for the mutilation of the records of the early East India voyages, but which will serve equally well to explain the singular omissions apparent in Purchas's narrative of Hudson's career:

"Hakluyt undertook the custody of the manuscript journals of the voyages and travels to which it was held unadvisable to give immediate publicity; comprising voyages to Virginia and *to the north-western seas*, and all the East India voyages from 1601 almost to the date of his decease in 1616."

"About the year 1620, under circumstances which are nowhere distinctly stated, the collections formed by Hakluyt came into the hands of the reverend Samuel Purchas†, whose *Pilgrimages or Rela-*

* *Hakluyt Soc. Pub.*, 1855.

† "It is to be regretted that this compiler [Purchas] should have adopted the plan of curtailing all his narratives; we get more facts, within a given compass, it is true, but this advantage is more than compensated by the loss of the interest, and indeed confidence, which a genuine unabridged narrative always inspires." Winter Jones's Introduction to Hakluyt's *Voyages to America*, p. xxxiv.

tions of the World, an unfinished work which was first published in 1613, had then reached its third edition. Now Purchas, instead of framing a continuation of the *Principal Navigations*, as edited by Hakluyt, aspired to supersede those volumes by a new compilation, which should include the Hakluyt papers and his own collections. In consequence of this injudicious resolution he was compelled, as he admits, to *contract* and *epitomize* his vast materials. After much laborious application, made irksome by bodily infirmity, he published the results in 1625, in four folio volumes, with the quaint title of *Hakluytus Posthumus, or Purchas his Pilgrimes.*"*

It was in those large and costly volumes, and under such unfavourable circumstances, that the voyages of Hudson made their appearance. It is not difficult to account for the meagre and unsatisfactory manner in which Purchas presents the relations of Hudson's achievements, when we know that he compressed the journal of Sir Henry Middleton's voyage "into less than *one-twentieth part* of its real extent."†

But since our object at present is not to account for the shortcomings of Purchas, but rather to supply the deficiencies in that portion of his work which relates to Hudson, we naturally turn to the published volumes of Hakluyt, from whose exhaustless manuscript stores the *Pilgrimage* and *Pilgrimes* were compiled. And here we are once more at fault; for the venerable Hakluyt completed "his far-famed volumes, entitled *The Principal Navigations, Voiages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation*," in the last year of the sixteenth century, A.D. 1599, and "no augmented edition of the work was ever produced, nor any continuation of it on the same judicious plan."‡ There is, therefore, the hiatus of eight years, from 1599 to 1607, between the publishing of Hakluyt's work, and the appearance of Hudson in Purchas's volumes. On turning to the 1599 edition of Hakluyt, we find no mention of *our* Henry Hudson, But we gain much interesting information in relation to the Muscovy or Russia Company, and here discover a remarkable chain of cöincidences.

* Bolton Corney's Introduction to Sir Henry Middleton's *East India Voyage*, *Hak. Soc. Pub.*, 1855, pp. iii, iv.

† *Hak. Soc. Pub.*, 1855, p. v.

‡ Corney's *Introduction.*

We have already mentioned that Henry Hudson is first introduced to our notice by Purchas, as a "Captain" in the service of the Muscovy Company on the 19th of April, 1607. We now discover, from the pages of Hakluyt, that another Henry Hudson, fifty-two years earlier, i. e., the 6th of February, 1555, was named in Queen Mary's Charter as one of the founders and first assistants of the Muscovy or Russia Company. Thus, with half a century between them, we have Henry Hudson, one of the founders of this great corporation, and Henry Hudson a valued and experienced captain in its service. We also find a Christopher Hudson repeatedly spoken of as one of the factors of the Muscovy Company, and finally as their agent in Russia in 1560. Moreover, we notice in the first volume of Hakluyt, the name of Thomas Hudson, of Limehouse, England, captain in the employ of the Muscovy Company in 1580-1 *

To say the least, the coincidence of name is somewhat singular; and we can only account for its having escaped entirely the attention of previous investigators, by explaining that the first Henry Hudson's name is spelt by Hakluyt, *Herdson*. That this same individual's name was also spelt *Hudson*, we learn from the *Proceedings of the Court of Chancery*, reign of Elizabeth, vol. II, page 24. The name of Christopher Hudson is spelt by Hakluyt in a great variety of ways—Hudson, Hodson, Hodsdon. Having, however, consulted the learned Camden's *Remaines Concerning Britaine*, wherein Heardson is said to be from Herdingson or Hodgskinson, and Hodson from Hod or Oddo,† and having read also Lower's curious derivation of Hudson from Roger, we were fully prepared for a variety of peculiarities in the modes of spelling Hudson.‡ Before attempting to present the

* The Advertisements and Reports of the 6th voyage made into the parts of Russia and Media for the Companie * * * * in the years 1579-80-81. By Christopher Burrough, in Hakluyt, I, 421.

† Camden's *Remaines Concerning Britaine*, London, 1637, p. 133.

‡ The following account of the origin of this name is to be found in the London ed., 1860, of Lower's *Patronymica Britannica*, p. 159. "Hodgson, the son of Hodge or Roger. This name in the north of England is pronounced Hodgin, while in the south it has taken not only the pronunciation, but the spelling of Hodson or *Hudson*. The name of Hodgson is ancient at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, being found in the records of temp. Edward I, and the Hodgsons of Stella and Acton Co., Northumberland, trace a clear pedigree to 1424." Again on p. 292, same work: "*Roger*. A personal name unknown here before the conquest.

information collected about the first Henry Hudson, Christopher Hudson and Thomas Hudson, and before endeavoring to sum up the relations which they each sustained to our Henry Hudson, it will be well to gain an insight into the history of the great corporation with which they were all connected.

The search for a north-western passage to China was first practically inaugurated by Sebastian Cabot, who sailed from England, in the beginning of May, 1498. Half a century later, the same individual, in his old age, promulgated the idea of a northerly opening to India or Cathay, and at his instigation, a company, of which he was made governor, was organized for its discovery. This association was styled the Company of Merchant Adventurers.

In explanation of the ready support accorded to Cabot's scheme, we need only be reminded of the condition of the maritime affairs of Britain, at that period. The Germans and Italians had long monopolized the English trade. But at this time transatlantic discoveries, and the commerce consequent thereon were beginning to develope, in a wonderful degree, the material resources of Spain, Portugal and the Netherlands, while the prosperity of Italy and the Hanse towns was proportionately declining. England, whose commerce visibly languished under the change, now became eager to escape from the waning powers which had so long controlled her, and was willing to engage in any enterprise that might afford a chance of commercial independence.

Accordingly, Cabot's plan for distancing all competitors by the discovery of a shorter route to India by the north-east, immediately arrested the attention of men of influence, who were ready to embark at once in a project offering such desirable results.

Clement Adams, in his *Newe Navigation and Discoverie of the Kingdome of Muscovia, by the North-east, in the yeere* 1553,* says: "At what time our merchants perceived the commodities and wares

Many persons called Roger, and Rogerous, occur as tenants in Domesday. From it are formed Rogers, Rodgers, Rogerson, &c., and from its nick-name Hodge, we get Hodges, Hodgson, Hodgkin, Hotckin, Hotchkins, Hotchkiss, Hodgkinson, Hockins, Hodd, Hodson, *Hudson*. The Norman patronymical form is Fitz-Roger, and the Welsh, Ap-Roger, now Prodger."

* Reprinted in the original Latin with English translations in the "Bibliotheca Curiosa."

of England to bee in small request with the countreys and people about us and neere unto us, and that those merchandizes which strangers in the time and memorie of our auncesters did earnestly seeke and desire, were nowe neglected and the price thereof abated, although by us carried to their owne portes, and all forreine merchandizes in great accompt and their prises wonderfully raised; certaine graue citizens of London, and men of great wisedome, and carefull for the good of theire countrey, began to thinke with themselves how this mischiefe might be remidied. Neither was a remidie (as it then appeared) wanting to their desires, for the auoyding of so great an inconvenience: for, seeing that the wealth of the Spaniards and Portingalse, by the discouerie and search of newe trades and countreys was marueilously increased, supposing the same to be a course and meane for them also to obteine the like, they thereupon resolued upon a newe and strange nauigation. And whereas at the same time one Sebastian Cabota, a man in those dayes very renowned, happened to be in London, they began first of all to deale and consult diligently with him, and after much speeche and conference together, it was at last concluded that three shippes should bee prepared and furnished out, for the search and discouerie of the northerne part of the world, to open a way and passage to our men for trauaile to newe and unknowen kingdomes."*

Thus it happened that as early as the 10th of May, 1553, before the association was formally recognised by the Crown, it had despatched an expedition† under Sir Hugh Willoughby, Captain General of the Fleet‡ to prosecute the above design.

* Hukluyt, I, 243.

† Hakluyt, I, 226-230, has carefully preserved the "*Ordinances, Instructions, and Aduertisements of and for the Direction of the intended Voyage for Cathay,* compiled, made and deliuered by the right worshipfull M. Sebastian Cabota, Esquier, Gouernour of the misterie and companie of the Marchants aduenturers for the discoverie of Regions, Domminions, Islands and places vnknowen, the 9. day of May, in the yere of our Lord God 1553."

‡ "Nowe this prouision being made and carried aboord, with armoure and ammunition of all sorts, sufficient Captaines and Gouernors of so great an enterprise were yet wanting: to which office and place, although many men offered themselues, yet one, Sir Hugh Willoughby, a most valiant gentleman, and well borne, uery earnestly requested to have that care and charge committed to him: of whom before all others, both by reason of his goodly personage (for he was of

After untold hardships and terrific sufferings, two of these vessels, with their crews and their leader Sir Hugh, reached an obscure harbor on the desolate coast of Lapland. Here he sent out in a south-south-westerly direction, three men to search for some inhabitants, who went three days' journey but could find none. Afterwards, three others were despatched four days' journey to the west, who also returned without finding any people. Three men next proceeded three days' journey to the south-east, who in like sort, returned without finding any signs of habitation. Thus helpless, hopeless and abandoned, they were found by some Russian fishermen who, attracted by the absence of all appearance of life, boarded the ships and discovered the unfortunate men frozen to death. The corpse of the gallant Willoughby was seated, it is said, at a table in the cabin, with a pen in its hand and the ship's Journal before it, on whose pages was traced the story of the unavailing efforts to find escape from the approaches of an appalling death. The ships, with the dead bodies and most of the goods, were sent to England by the company's agent at Moscow, but being unstaunch by their two years wintering in Lapland, the unfortunate vessels sunk by the way with their dead and them also that brought them.*

A happier fate befell the third vessel of the squadron, the *Edward Bonaventure*, which carried Richard Chancellor, pilot-major of the fleet, and was commanded by Stephen Burrough, whose subsequent discoveries rendered him famous. This ship succeeded in entering safely the Bay of St. Nicholas, since better known as the White Sea, and on the 24th of August, 1553, arrived at the western mouth of

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a tall stature) as for his singular skill in the services of war, the company of the *Marchants* [of Muscovia] made greatest accompt ; so that at the last they concluded and made choyce of him *for the Generall of this voyage and appointed to him the Admirall*, with authoritie and command ouer all the rest."—*Clement Adams.* Hakluyt, I, 243-244, ed. 1599.

In all expeditions consisting of more than two vessels, one was appointed to lead, and was denominated the *Admiral;* another was elected to keep a look-out astern ; and was known as the *Vice-Admiral.* The officer in command of the entire fleet was named the *General*, and he sailed in the *Admiral.* The second in command, was styled the *Lieutenant General*, and he sailed in the *Vice-Admiral.* For an exceedingly interesting article entitled "Shipping," see appendix, Note A, to Rundall's very valuable work, *Voyages to the North West*, 229.

* Hakluyt, I, 236, 237, ed. 1599. Milton's *Brief History of Muscovia*, p. 597.

the River Dwina. From this point Richard Chancellor made his way overland to the court of the Emperor of Russia, where a most cordial reception awaited him, of which he afterwards wrote an interesting account, contained in "The booke of the great and mighty Emperor of Russia and Duke of Moscouia."*

Though the failure of Willoughby's part of the Muscovy Company's first expedition was peculiarly distressing, yet the success of that portion under the command of Richard Chancellor laid the foundations of the Company's prosperity, and of the commercial and political relations which, with but slight interruptions, have continued to exist between Russia and England to the present day.†

Soon after the inauguration of intercourse between these countries, which was not only to exercise great influence over individuals, but also materially to affect the destinies of two powerful nations, the *Company of Merchant Adventurers*, called also *The Society for the Discovery of Unknown Lands*, obtained from Queen Mary, a Charter bearing date the 6th of February, 1555. In the same year the Emperor of Russia‡ granted these incorporated English Merchants a formal Charter of Privileges to trade throughout his dominions,§ in accordance with the informal permission he had already given them in his letter to Edward VI, forwarded February, 1554, by the hands of Richard Chancellor. Subsequently, in the eighth year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, 1566, they procured an act of Parliament, in which they were styled, *The Fellowship of English Merchants For Discovery of New Trades.*

It is in the first Patent or Charter from Queen Mary given in the year 1555, that the name of *Henry Herdson* occurs.

* Hakluyt, I, 237.

† Hakluyt, I, 255, gives "*The Copie of the Duke of Musconie and Emperour of Russia his letters, sent to King Edward the sixth, by the hands of Richard Chancelour*," dated February, 1554, giving the English permission to trade. We find also in Hakluyt, I, 258, 259, "*Letters of King Philip and Queene Marie*" to the Emperor of Russia, written April 1st, 1555, and sent by Richard Chancellor, George Killingworth and Richard Graie.

‡ The title of "Emperor" was not adopted till 1608. The "Czar of Muscovy" here alluded to was Ivan IV., the Terrible.

§ Hakluyt, I, 265-267, ed. 1599.

From this Charter we learn that "William *Marques* of Winchester *Lord High Treasurer of this our Realme of* England, Henrie *Earle* of Arundel *Lord Stewarde of our householde*, John *Earle* of Bedford *Lord keeper of our priuie Seale*, William *Earle* of Pembroke, William *Lorde* Howard of Effingham *Lorde high Admirall of our saide Realme* of England," were among the most active originators of the Company, and that the instrument of incorporation itself was given in answer to their humble petition.*

Sebastian 'Cabota' or Cabot, is named by the Charter first Governor of the Company; "*George Barnes*, Knight and Alderman of our Citie of London, William Garret, Alderman of our said Citie, Anthonie Husie, and John Suthcot," are constituted "the first and present *four* Consuls of the said felowship;" and "Sir John Gresham, Knight, Sir Andrew Judde, Knight, Sir Thomas White, Knight, Sir John Yorke, Knight, Thomas Offley the elder, Thomas Lodge, *Henry Herdson*, John Hopkins, William Watson, Will. Clifton, Richard Pointer, Richard Chamberlaine, William Mallorie, Thomas Pallie the elder, William Allen, Henry Becher, Geffrey Walkenden, Richard Fowles, Rowland Heyward, George Eaton, John Ellot, John Sparke, Blase Sanders and Miles Mording," are ordained the first "twenty-four *Assistants* to the saide Gouernour."†

The intentions of the Company to send out expeditions to the Northwards, North-eastwards, and North-westwards are clearly indicated by this Charter; and protection is expressly guaranteed‡ against the interference of others in the searches in those directions.

Attention has been already particularly directed to the fact that the name of Henry Hudson, the founder of the Muscovy Company, is written *Herdson* by Hakluyt, while it is spelled *Hudson* in *The Proceedings Of The Court of Chancery In The Reign Of Elizabeth.* This need occasion no surprise if we will remember that Lower derives Hudson from Roger, and that Camden refers it to Herdingson. But further than this, the above individual and his sons are found under each of the following forms: Herdson, Herdsun,

* Hakluyt, I, pp. 267, 268.

† Hakluyt, I, 268, 269.

‡ Hakluyt, I, 268, 272.

Herdsone, Herdsoun, Heardson, Hardson, Hudson; whilst the name is also spelled, Hodson, Hoddeson, Hodshon, Hodgson, Hodgeson. Hudgeson, Hogsdon, Hogeson, Hodisdon, Hodesdon, Hoddesdon, Hodesdon, Hoddesdonn, Hoddesden, Huddesdon.*

The Henry Hudson who is named in Queen Mary's charter as one of the founders and first Assistants of the Muscovy Company, was a man of large wealth and extended influence. He was a citizen of London, and a member of the corporation of Skinners, or Tanners.†

"This Company of Skinners," says Stow, "was incorporate by Edward the 3. in the first of his reigne; they had two Brotherhoods of Corpus Christi, viz. one at St. Mary Spittle, the other at St. Mary Bethlem, without Bishopsgate. Richard the Second, in the eighteenth of his reigne, granted them to make their two Brotherhoods one, by the name of the Fraternity of *Corpus Christi* of Skinners. Divers royall persons were named to bee Founders, and Brethren of this Fraternity, to wit; Kings sixe, Dukes nine, Earles two, Lords one. Kings, Edward the third, Richard the second, Henry the fifth, Henry the sixth, and Edward the fourth."‡

Mr. Hudson served as an Alderman§ and would undoubtedly have been elected to the Mayoralty had his life been spared. Like his contemporary Sir John Gresham the elder, uncle of the celebrated Sir Thomas Gresham, Mr. Hudson having amassed a great fortune in trade, became the purchaser of extensive landed estates. After the suppression of the Monasteries, the crown granted the forfeited church lands at Hitchin, in the County of Hertfordshire, to Edward Watson and Henry Hudson, Gentlemen.‖

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* Hakluyt, *Proc. Ct. Ch.*, Rg. of Eliz. Machyn's *Diary*. *Magna Britannia*. Sims' *Index to Heraldic Visitations*. The *Topographer and Genealogist*, London, 1853. Stow's *Survey of London*.

† The Skinners, or Tanners, vide "Diary of Henry Machyn, A. D. 1550 to 1563." Camden Soc. Pub. 1848, page 99.

‡ Stow's *Survey of London*, 248, ed. 1633.

§ Machyn's *Diary*, p. 99. *Proc. Ct. Chancery*, Reign of Eliz., vol. II, p. 24.

‖ "*Hitchin*; here are two small Priories, the one of white *Carmelites*, founded by *John Blomville*, *Adam Rouse*, and *John Cobham*, and dedicated to our Saviour, and the blessed Virgin and King *Edward* II confirm'd the Endowments.

Sir Bernard Burke, in his account of the Dixwell Family, speaks of Henry Hudson Esq., of Stourton, in *Lincolnshire.** Henry Hudson possessed property in the neighbourhood at an early period; this fact explains the constant intercourse, and intimate business relations, evidently existing between him and Edward, Lord Clinton, who built the fine mansion at Sempringham,† and had other great estates in *Lincolnshire.*

To use the words of Mr. Burgon in his life of Sir Thomas Gresham: "This may be as proper a place as any other to mention, that my reading has led me to quite a different conclusion respecting the estimation in which merchants were formerly held, to that entertained by the elegant author of *Illustrations of British History.* Mr. Lodge considers that the nobility of other days kept themselves at a distance from even the first members of the commercial order;‡ but I believe the contrary will be established by the following pages. What is strange, the nobles appear among the most enterprising speculators, and were themselves traders on the grandest scale. In Queen Mary's reign, for instance, when the Muscovy merchants were incorporated (that is to say, the first English company which traded to Russia), the most powerful of the nobility stand foremost in the list of members."§

"'The Earls of Leicester and Shrewsbury sent out joint-adventures to Muscovia in 1574; on which occasion the first-named peer writes to his friend, 'I assure you if I had had 10,000*l.* in my purse, I wold have adventured it every peny myself.‖'"

These Monks held this House till 21 *Henry* VIII, when it was surrender'd to that King, being valued at £4, 9s. 4d. *per Ann.* After the Dissolution, it was granted to *Edward Watson* and *Henry Herdson* Gent., who conveyed it to the *Radcliffs*, in which family it still remains, *Sir Ralph Radcliff* being the present owner." *Magna Britannia*, Act. of Hertfordshire, ed. Lon. 1738, II, 1027.

* Burke's *Extinct and Dormant Baronetage*, 161, 162. London, 1838.

† *Magna Britannia*, II, 1416. London ed., 1738.

‡ *Illustrations of British History*, vol. III, p. 151, Note.

§ Strype's Stowe, ed. 1720, ch. v., 260. See also Froude's History, passim.

‖ Lodge's *Illustrations*, vol. II, p. 46. Burgon's *Life of Sir Thomas Gresham*, vol. I, 47, 48.

Mr. Hudson's friend "Lord Clinton and Say," is frequently mentioned by Machyn.* He was created Lord High Admiral of England by patent the 14th of May (4 Edw. VI), 1550; and retained that office until the 10th of March, 1554; when he was succeeded by Lord Howard of Effingham. He was again appointed Lord Admiral by Philip and Mary in 1558; and was continued by Queen Elizabeth, who advanced him, in the 14th year of her reign, to the earldom of Lincoln. He was one of her Majesty's Privy Council; and one of those appointed for the trial of the Duke of Norfolk. He died while in office in the year 1585.†

From Lord Clinton Mr. Hudson purchased the *manor of Bertrams* and the *manor of Newington juxta Hith*, or *Newington Belhouse*, in the "Lathe," or Hundred of Shepway, County of Kent.‡ From the same nobleman, he bought the ancient manors of *Stelting*, *Ackhanger*, *Terlingham*, and the still more venerable and extensive manors of *Folkston* and *Walton*.§ He was also Lord of the manor of *Sweton*.‖

Alderman Henry Hudson died in the City of London, of a peculiar kind of malignant fever, which raged with such violence in the metropolis, that seven aldermen, Hudson, Dobbs, Laxton, Hobblethorne, Champneys, Ayloffe, and Gresham,¶ fell victims to it, within the space of ten months.**

* Machyn's *Diary*, pages 6, 7, 9, 20, 31, 35, 79, 143, 197, 202, 207, 233.

† Lists of Officers of State during the period covered by Machyn's *Diary*. Prepared by John Gough Nichols, F. S. A. Camden Soc. Pub., 1848, page xvi. *Magna Britannia*, II, 14-42, Lond., ed. 1737. For an extended account of Clinton, see Lodge, II.

‡ *Mag. Brit.*, II, 1184, 1185. § *Mag. Brit.*, II, pages 1178, 1183, 1184.

‖ *Proc. Court of Chancery*, Reign of Elizabeth, II, 24. No. 56.

¶ Sir John Gresham, the elder, deceased the 23d October, 1555. He was Sheriff of London in 1537, and was knighted while in office. In 1547, while Lord Mayor, he revived the splendid pageant of the Marching Watch. Stow's *Survey*, ed. 1720, quoted by Burgon. Sir John Gresham, Senior, should not be confounded with his nephew, Sir John Gresham, whose name heads the list of Assistants of the Muscovy Company in Queen Mary's Charter. The younger Sir John was born in 1518, received the honor of Knighthood from the Protector Somerset, on the field, after the victory of Musselburgh, in 1547. Like the rest of his family he was a mercer and merchant-adventurer. He died in the year 1560. Burgon's *Life of Sir Thos. Gresham*, I, 369, 370.

** Machyn's *Diary*. Notes, page 353. Burgon's *Life of Sir Thomas Gresham*, I, 19.

"The last year began the hote burning feuers whereof, died many olde persons, so that in London died seven Alderman, in the space of tenne moneths." Howe's *Abridge*. Stow's *Chronicle*, p. 276, London, 1618.

Machyn gives the following account of the imposing ceremonies observed at his funeral: "The XX day of Dessember [1555] was bered at sant Donstones in the Est master Hare Herdsun, altherman of London and skynner, and on of the masturs of the hospetall of the gray frers* in London, with men and xxiiij women in mantyll fresse† gownes, a hersse of wax,‡ and hong with blake; and ther was my lord mare and the swordberer in blake, and dyvers odur althermen in blake, and the resedew of the aldermen, atys berying; and all the masters, boyth althermen and odur, with ther gren stayffes in ther handes, and all the chylderyn of the gray frersse, and iiij men in blake gownes bayryng iiij gret stayffes-torchys bornyng, and then xxiiij men with torchys bornyng; and the moorowe iij masses songe; and after to ys plasse to dener; and ther was ij goodly whyt branchys, and mony prestes and clarkes syngyng."§

* *Grey Friars.* The following Latin sepulchral inscription found in the *Church of the Grey Friars, London,* refers perhaps to the parents of this Henry Hudson: —"Roudolfi Hudson civis et aurifate, Lond. et Elizabeth ux eius; qui ob 27, June 153°." Vide *Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica,* V, 392.

In this connection it may be proper to mention that the account of the "Meeting of Henry VIII, and Charles V" (given page 57, Rutland Papers, Camden Soc. Publications, London, 1842), contains a notice of the attendance upon the English King during his pleasant visit to Gravlines on the *10th of July,* 1520, in which an allusion is made to a *William Hodgeson* or *Hudson* as 'Chiefe Officer of the Botrye.' Thomas More is also spoken of as 'Chiefe Officer of the Pitcher House,' and Thomas Weldon, an ancestor of sir Anthony, the libeller of the Stuarts, is referred to as holding an office apparently of inferior rank in the Ewry.

† Probably frieze made purposely for mantles.

‡ The Hearse was, on grand occasions, ready to receive the corpse when it arrived within the Church; having been erected a day or two before. It was a frame "made of timber, and covered with black, and armes upon the blacke." The term "herse of wax," is one of continual recurrence, and is to be understood not of the material of the hearse itself, but of the candles and tapers with which it was covered. What we now call a hearse is described by Machyn as, "a wagon with iiij wheels, all covered with blacke."

§ "Henry Machyn, Citizen and Merchant-Taylor of London," was born in the year 1496 or 1498. He was probably "in that department of the trade of a merchant-taylor which we now call an undertaker or furnisher of funerals." The remarkable Diary of which he was the author, covers a period of 13 eventful years, viz.: from 1550 to 1563. It doubtless originated from the nature of the writer's business, and it is at first a mere record of the principal Funerals for which he was employed to provide. The first event of another kind commemorated is the committal of Bishop Gardiner to the Tower in Feb., 1550-1; after which he enters

Mr. Hudson's widow Barbara afterwards married Alderman Sir Richard Champion,* who was elected Sheriff in 1558-9; Lord Mayor of London 1566; and died without issue in 1568.† The lady Barbara was godmother to Thomas White, son of Sir John White, and nephew of the Sir Thomas White, whom we recognize as one of the Muscovy Company's first Assistants.‡ She erected a monument in St. Dunstan's in the East, with kneeling effigies of herself and both the aldermen her husbands.

The arms of Henry Hudson were Argent, semée of fleurs-de-lis gules, a cross engrailed sable.§

The following account of the monument and its surroundings, with the poetical epitaphs, is preserved in Stow's *Survey of London.*‖ "On the South side of the Chancell, [of the Parish Church of St. Dunstan's in the East, Tower Street Ward,] Standeth an ancient Marble Tombe * * with this inscription:

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every occurrence that struck him as deserving of remembrance. Strype, the English Ecclesiastical Historian, incorporated in his works many passages from Machyn's *Diary*, which have been frequently quoted by subsequent writers.

The manuscript itself was in the Cottonian Library, and suffered somewhat in the fire. The injured leaves were kept loose in a case until 1829, when they were carefully arranged, and inlaid, under the superintendence of Sir Frederick Madden, who bears witness to their value.

In 1848, the Camden Society printed the *Diary*, from the original manuscript. The publication was edited by John Gough Nichols, F.S.A., who says; "these records will afford valuable assistance to the family historian and genealogist."

* Nichols' *Notes to Machyn's Diary*, Camden Soc. Publications, London, 1848, page 347.

† The *Magna Britannia* has it Oct. 30th, 1561, the date given on this monument, is: Oct. 30th, 1568. See Stow's *Survey of London*, p. 139, ed. 1633.

‡ Machyn's *Diary*, p. 248, Hakluyt I., 269, ed. 1599.

§ Nichols' *Notes to Machyn's Diary*, Cam. Soc. Pub. London, 1848, page 347. List given by William Smith, Rouge-dragon. "A Book in fol. of 98 leaves, written in a fair hand on vellum, containing the Arms in Coulours and Pedigrees of Families in the County of Sussex, taken at a visitation A. D. 1634," is mentioned in the Catalogue Harleian MSS., vol. III, p. 335. On page 24 of this document may be found The Arms and Pedigrees of the Hudson Family of Sussex, which might throw much light on the subject under discussion.

‖ Stow's Survey of London, 138, 139, ed. 1633.

"*Here lyeth* Henry Heardsons *corps,*
within this Tombe of Stone:
His Soule (through faith in Christ's death,)
to God in Heaven is gone.
Whiles that he lived an Alderman,
and Skinner was his state:
To Vertue bare hee all his love,
to vice he bare his hate.
His Almes that weekely he bestowed,
within this Parish here,
May witneese to the Poores releefe,
what good will hee did beare.
He had to wife one Barbara,
which made this Tombe you see:
By whom he had of issue store,
eight sonnes and daughters three.
Obiit 22. Decemb. An. Dom. 1555."

It will be observed that according to Stow the name was spelled in the epitaph, Heardson. Stow, however, spells it elsewhere, Herdson and Hudson.

This gentleman, whom Hakulyt tells us was one of the original Assistants of the Muscovy Company, was, Mr. Read believes, the ancestor of Henry Hudson, who fifty-four years afterwards discovered Delaware Bay and Hudson's River.

Henry Hudson, the elder, left three daughters, one of them Abigail, married Charles Dixwell, Esq, of Coton, in the County of Warwick, and had issue.

1. William, who inherited Coton, and was the ancestor of the Dixwells of Coton Hall.

2. Edward, named after his mother's brother, Ed. Hudson.

3. Humphrey.

4. *Basil.*

5. Barbara, named after her grandmother Barbara Hudson.

Henry Hudson, the elder, left eight sons. Three of these, viz: *Thomas Hudson*, *John Hudson*, and *Edward or Edmund Hudson*, are mentioned in this order in the *Calendar of Proceedings in the Court of Chancery, Reign of Elizabeth.** From the same source we learn that Thomas Hudson, Esq., conveyed to his brother John Hudson, 'for certain purposes, the manors of Newing Belhouse, Newington Bartram, Newington Fee, Damyott, Brensett, Sachfilde, and Stepiars' in the County of Kent.† This John Hudson dying without issue, bequeathed his estates to his sister's youngest son, Sir Basil Dixwell. Bart.,‡ who transplanted himself accordingly from the County of Warwick, to *Terlingham* in Kent, where he continued until the year 1622, when he removed to Broome, in the same county, also a manor of his, on which he had recently erected a handsome mansion-house. He served the office of Sheriff in the 2d year of Charles I, and was created a Baronet by that monarch, 18th February, 1627. He died unmarried in 1641, when the Baronetcy became extinct, and his estates devolved, under his will, upon his nephew, Mark Dixwell, Esq., son of his brother William, who married Elizabeth, daughter of M. Read, and sister of W. Read Esq., of Folkestone, and was the ancestor of Sir Henry Oxenden, Bart., who thus became possessor of the ancient estates of John Hudson, the male line of the Dixwells having failed.§

We have no definite information relative to *Edward Hudson*, the third son of Henry Hudson, the elder. George, Edmund, John,‖ and William Hudson,¶ infants, were parties, however, in a suit in the

* *Cal. Proc. Court of Chanc.*, Rg. Eliz., II, 24.

† *Cal. Proc. Court of Chanc.*, Rg. Eliz., II, 62.

‡ *Magna Britannia*, II, 1178, 1183, 1184, 1185.

§ Burke's *Ex. and Dormant Baronetage*, pp. 161, 152.

‖ A. D. 1575, June 3. We find a *John Hudson* in the list of Masters of Art, under the above Date: "*John Hudson of Broadgates Hall.* He was afterwards vicar of *Patcham* in *Sussex* and Author of *A Sermon At Pauls Cross* on Hebrews, 10: 19, *Lond.* 1584, Oct., and perhaps of other matters." Wood's *Athenæ Ox.*, vol. I, p. 738.

¶ The following extracts suggest the idea, that the William Hudson mentioned therein, is identical with the William Hudson in the text, and that he, and his son Christopher Hudson, also mentioned therein, were members in a later generation of the same family to which Christopher Hudson, of the Muscovy Company's Service, belonged.

reign of Queen Elizabeth, to enforce the payment of legacies out of the estate of their father *Edmund* Hudson. It may be that this *Edmund* Hudson and *Edward* Hudson were one and the same person.

We have seen that *Thomas Hudson*, the eldest son of Henry Hudson, Senior, conveyed to *John Hudson* certain lands, and that he afterwards brought suit against this younger brother in the Court of Chancery, to settle sundry accounts growing out of the transfer.* This is all we positively know in reference to the matter. It is possible that *Thomas Hudson* had become embarrassed, and had been obliged to give up his share of the inheritance to his brother,† with the stipulation that he should receive a certain sum, equal to the excess in value of the property over the amount of his indebtedness, and that it was to recover this money that the suit was brought.

However this may have been, *Thomas Hudson* seems to have been

"A Treatise on the Court of the Star Chamber, written by Wm. Hudson, of Greys Inn, Esq., and containing a very full and elaborate account of that tribunal." "This Treatise or survey of the Court of Star Chamber, will, upon reading, appear to be wrote in a masterly yet humble manner, and by impartial readers to be approved. It was begun in the reign of K. Ja. 1st and finished early in the reign of Ch. 1st." *Lansdowne Catal.* It appears from the work itself that Hudson was a barrister and a practitioner in the Court of the Star Chamber. Some further account of him may be seen in a note by Humphrey Wanley, which follows the above by Mr. Umfreville, and also in the *Harl. Catal. of MS.*, No. 1226. *Catalogue of the Lansdowne MS.*, in the *British Museum*, No. 622. Wm. Hudson is mentioned in No. 639, fol. *Lansdowne Catal.*, as "one of the Registers of the Court of Star Chamber."

"This Treatise was compiled by Wm. Hudson of Grais Inne, Esq., one very much practized and of great experience in the Star Chamber; and my very affectionate friend. His sonne and heyr Mr. Christopher Hudson (whose hand-wryting this booke is), after his father's death gave it to mee 19th Decembris, 1634. Jo. Finch." *Catal. Harleian MSS.*, No. 1226, vol. I, p. 612.

Proc. Ct. of Chanc., Rg. of Eliz., vol. II, page 62.

† The Privileges of *Gavel-kind* belonging to the County of Kent are threefold: 1. The Heirs male share all the lands alike. 2. The Heir is at 15 at full age to sell or alienate. 3. Though the Father was convicted of Treason, yet the Son enjoys his Inheritance: Hence that Proverb, *the Father to the Bough, and the Son to the Plough.* These three Privileges, granted and confirmed to them by *William* the Conqueror, are denominated Gavel kind. *Present State of Great Britain*, by John Chamberlayne, Esq. London, 1748, p. 15.

living nine or ten years after his father's death, at Mortlake in Surrey, on the Thames, six and a half miles from London, between Putney and Richmond. The following entry occurs in the Private Diary of Doctor John Dee, the famous philosopher of Mortlake, with whom Thomas Hudson was on intimate terms: "[A. D. 1564] June 20th, Mr. Hudson, hora septima ante meridiem."* This was one of the many notes of nativities made by the Doctor, who was constantly consulted professionally as an astrologer.

Doctor Dee was a man of great learning and extensive acquirements. He was particulary distinguished for his geographical attainments, while his opinion, on a variety of matters of state, was frequently asked by Sir Francis Walsingham, and Queen Elizabeth herself. He was the cherished friend and adviser of the principal navigators of his time, and was actively engaged in promoting the objects of the *Muscovy* or *Russia Company*.† Indeed Hakluyt has preserved "Certaine briefe addresses given by Master Dee, to Arthur Pet, and Charles Jackman, to bee observed in their North-easterne discouerie, Anno 1580;"‡ and from his own Diary we learn that on the 17th of May, 1580, he was at the Company's House in London, on business concerning the Cathay voyage.§ Two weeks later Pet and Jackman sailed from Harwich, in the Company's employ, in search of a north-east passage to China or Cathay, taking with them a Chart which the Doctor had constructed for their guidance.‖

Frequent reference is made by the Doctor to certain pecuniary transactions between himself and *Thomas Hudson*. March 12th, 1581, he records: "All reckenings payd to Mr Hudson, £11, 17s."¶ After his return from the continent he has the following: "June 28th, [1590] I payd Mr. Hudson for all his corn, and also for the wood tyll May, receyved synce I cam home."** March 21st, 1591, he says: "Remember that on Passion Sunday, being the 21st of March,

* *Private Diary of Doctor John Dee*, Camden Soc. Pub., 1842, page 2.

† For a Notice of Doctor Dee see Appendix.

‡ Hakluyt, vol. I, p. 437.

§ [1580] "May 17th, at the Muscovy howse for the Cathay voyage." *Priv. Diary*, page 7, Cam. Soc. Pub., 1842.

‖ Side Note. Hakluyt, vol. I, p. 437. ¶ *Private Diary*, p. 11.

** *Private Diary*, p. 34.

by our accownt, all things was payd for to *Mr. Thomas Hudson* for wood and corne, abowt £14, at his howse when he was syk of the strangury."* In this connection it is interesting to note the entry for February 21st, 1593, which refers to the greatest English mathematician of that day: "I borrowed £10 of Mr. Thomas Digges† for one whole yere."‡

The extracts from the Diary which are given in the appendix,§ reveal the character and standing of the men with whom *Thomas Hudson* and Dr. Dee were daily in the habit of associating. When taken in connection with the ensuing quotations, they clearly indicate that the friendship existing between these two, had its origin in the interest which they naturally felt in the Muscovy or Russia Company. The curious document from which they are taken, repeatedly mentions Sir Humphrey Gilbert, "Mr. Secretary" Sir Francis Walsingham, Mr. Hakluyt, Mr. Adrian Gilbert, Captain John Davis, Richard Candish, and his famous nephew Thomas Candish, Sir George Peckham, Sir John Gilbert, and Sir Walter Ralegh, as members of a circle, wherein *Thomas Hudson* figured prominently. We are allowed to look in upon the great men of England, and the next paragraph even affords us a familiar view of good Queen Bess herself: "Feby. 11th, [1583] the Queen lying at Richmond weet to Mr. Secretary Walsingham to dynner; she coming by my‖ dore gratiously called me to her, and *so I went by her horse side as far as where Mr. Hudson dwelt.*"¶

* *Priv. Diary*, p. 38.

† He was father of Sir Dudley Digges who was a principal promoter of Henry Hudson's last voyage in 1610-11.

‡ *Priv. Diary*, p. 43.

§ See Appendix.

"Dr. Dee dwelt in a house neere the water side, a little westward from the church at Mortlake. The buildings which Sir Francis Crane erected for working tapestry hangings, and are still (1673) employed to that use, were built upon the ground whereon Dr. Dee's laboratory and other roomes for that use were built. Upon the west side is a square Court, and the next is the howse wherein Dr. Dee dwelt, now inhabited by one Mr. Selbury, and further west his garden. * * * * * * Dr. Dee was wel beloved and respected of all persons of quality thereabouts, who very often invited him to their houses or came to his." *MS. Ashm.*, 1788, fol. 149. in Cam. Soc. Pub., 1842.

¶ *Private Diary*, pp. 18, 19.

We have reserved perhaps the most interesting memoranda, so far as our immediate subject is concerned, until now.

"Jan. 23d [1583], the Right Honourable Mr. Secretary Walsingham, cam to my howse, where by good lok he found Mr. Awdrian Gilbert, and so talk was begonne of *North-west* Straights discovery. The Bishop of St. Davyd's (Mr. Middleton) cam to visit me with Mr. Thomas Herbert. The Lord Grey cam to Mr. Secretary, and so they went unto Greenwich. Jan. 24th, I, Mr. Awdrian Gilbert, and John Davis went by appointment to Mr. Secretary to Mr. Beale his howse, where onely we four were secret, and we made Mr. Secretary priuie of the N. W. passage, and all charts and rutters were agreed uppon in generall. March 6th, I, and Mr. Awdrian Gilbert, and John Davis did mete with *Mr. Alderman Barnes*, Mr. Townson, and Mr. Yong, and *Mr. Hudson, abowt the N. W.* voyage."*

We are here made acquainted with the origin of the famous voyages of John Davis, and singularly enough, in the light of subsequent events, discover *Thomas Hudson* consulting with that celebrated navigator in reference to a search for a North-west passage to China or Cathay. We shall hereafter recognize the influence of Davis's subsequent explorations upon *Henry Hudson*, and learn that it was in attempting to find a passage to the westward and northward twenty-six years after the above project was entertained by his relative *Thomas Hudson*, that *Henry Hudson* made his discoveries of Delaware and New York. †

We have already referred to the fact that a Captain Thomas Hudson, of Limehouse, in the Muscovy or Russia Company's employ, is frequently mentioned in a very interesting account of the 6th voyage set on foot by that Company "into the parts of Persia and Media."

* *Private Diary of Dr. John Dee*, pp. 18, 19.

† Captain John Davis made his three well-known voyages to the North-west in 1585, 1586, and 1587.

It was in the latter year that sailing across the mouth of what is now called Hudson's Strait he saw to his great admiration "the sea falling downe into the gulfe with a mighty overfall and roaring, and with diver circular motions like whirlpools, in such sort as forcible streams pass through the arches of bridges." Henry Hudson, as we shall see, referred to this in his journal of his second voyage, as the "furious over-fall of Captain Davis."

The report of the expedition as given by Hakluyt was "gathered out of sundrie letters written by *Christopher Burrough*, seruant * to the saide companie, and sent to his Vncle Master *William Burrough*." †

It appears that Arthur Edwards, William Turnbull, Matthew Talboys, and Peter Gerard, Agents and Factors of the above Corporation, sailed from Gravesend on the 19th June, 1579, reached what is now Archangel the latter part of July, and proceeded from thence, sometimes by river, sometimes by land travel, to Astracan, a city near the mouth of the Volga, on the north-western shore of the Caspian sea; where they arrived on the 16th of October, and found "in good order and readiness" the ship commanded by "*Thomas Hudson*, of Limehouse," which the Company had "provided for the Persia voyage." Having dined by invitation with the Chief Secretary of Duke Pheodor Micalouich, the Russian governor of Astracan, they were persuaded by him, in view of the near approach of the icy season and the unsettled condition of Media and Persia, to pass the winter at Astracan.

"The first day of May (1580), in the morning, having the shippe in readiness to depart," they "invited the Duke and the principall Secretary Vasili Pheodorouich Shelepin, with other of the chiefest about the Duke to a banket aboord the ship, where they were interteined to their good liking, and at their departure was shot off all the ordinance of the ship, and about nine of the clocke at night the Same day they weyed anker, and departed with their ship from Astracan." After various mishaps and detentions, arising from the shoals in the Volga and the bars at its mouth, "they bare off into the" Caspian "Sea" on the 17th May. It is not necessary to rehearse the subsequent adventures of the party, from their departure in the ship under the command of Captain Thomas Hudson, until their return with him to Astracan in the month of December following. The particulars of their interesting voyage to Bildih and Derbent, their sufferings from shipwreck, their narrow escapes, their

* Hakluyt, I, page 419, ed. of 1599.

† At that period, officers whom we now designate as Agents, Commissioners, etc., were often in a general way termed Servants. Sir Richard Clough, in his last will, calls Sir Thomas Gresham his "Master" and styles himself "servant." In the same document Sir Richard mentions his own brother by the latter designation. Vide Burgon's *Life of Sir Thos. Gresham*, vol. I, page 236.

miraculous preservation from starvation, are given in the pages of Hakluyt. Having spent a second winter at Astracan, *Thomas Hudson* started from that city, with Wm. Turnbull, Matthew Talboys and others, in the month of March, 1581; and after nearly four months' journey across Russia, reached the shores of the White Sea, and found in the "rode of St. Nicholas," almost ready to depart, certain Ships belonging to the Muscovy Company. On the 26th of July, 1581, Thomas Hudson * sailed in the Thomas Allen, one of the Company's vessels, and reached England about the first of September.

There is little doubt that Henry Hudson, the elder, had a son named *Henry*. Henry Hudson is mentioned by Stow, as a citizen of London, in the first year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, 1558–9. This was four or five years after the death of the elder Hudson; and the son would appear to have been, at that time, a man of influence and standing in the city. His name occurs in a list,† of a dozen responsible persons, of that date, who were appointed by the Lieutenant of the Tower, the nominal keepers, or bondsmen, as we should style them, for William Aston, a citizen of note, and "free of the Company of Haberdashers." The same individual seems to have been plaintiff, in a suit in the Court of Chancery, against a certain Francis Ringsteed, concerning some personal matters.‡ As late as the year 1572, Henry Hudson was one of the defendants in a suit brought in the same court by Edward Stanhope, who claimed, by purchase, the "farm in Gouxhill called the Abbey Garth, parcel of the monastery of Thorton," in Lincolnshire.§ This is suggestive, when we recall the fact that Burke speaks of the elder Henry Hudson as "of Stourton, in Lincolnshire."

The Muscovy Company was organized for the purpose of promot-

* It is probable that Capt. Thomas Hudson, and Thomas Hudson, the friend of Dr. John Dee, were not the same. For an entry in the Doctor's *Diary*, of the 12th March, 1581, states: "All reckenings payd to Mr. Hudson, £11, 17s." Which leads one to think that that Mr. Hudson was then at home.

† Stow's *Survey of London*, ed. 1633, p. 126.

‡ *Cal. Proc. Court of Chanc.*, Rg. Eliz. vol. ii. p. 29. The name is here spelled Henry Hodgeson.

§ *Cal. Proc. Court of Chanc.*, Rg. Eliz., vol. iii. p. 45. The name here assumes the form of Henry Hogeson.

ing the discovery of a short passage to India by the north, and under the guidance of Richard Chancellor it early succeeded in gaining the goodwill of the Emperor of Russia. Having thus obtained a foothold in that country, the Company sent thither its Agents and Ships to develop a trade which in a few years grew to be immensely valuable. The idea of a northern passage to China was never abandoned. Stephen Burrough was sent to prosecute the search in 1556, but returned after having discovered "Image Cape," the north-eastern extremity of the island of Vaigats in 70° 29′ N. latitude, and the entrance into the White Sea, called after him Burrough's Strait. For several years indeed, after this voyage, the Muscovy Company turned its attention principally to the trade with the interior of the continent both in Europe and in Asia. The expedition under Captain Thomas Hudson, of Limehouse, just described, is an example of this. The instructions, however, given on the occasion of the fitting out of two expeditions at intervals of twelve years, the first under James Bassendine, James Woodcocke and Richard Browne in 1568,* and the second under Pet and Jackman in 1580,† are sufficient proofs that no opportunities nor means were neglected to obtain information, with a view to the eventual realization of the scheme which was the principal object in the original formation of the Company.

One other important member of the Hudson family, himself a zealous upholder of the interests of the Muscovy Company, remains to be noticed, before we pass to the consideration of the character and purposes of Henry Hudson, the discoverer.

The earliest allusion to *Christopher Hudson* is to be found in "the letters of M. George Killingworth, the Companies first *Agent* in Muscouie, touching their enterteinement in their second voyage, Anno 1555, the 27, of November in Mosco." M. Killingworth writes from that city as follows: "And the 28, day of September (1555) we did determine with ourselues that it was good for M. Gray, Arthur Edwards, Thomas Hautory, *Christopher Hudson*, John Segewicke, Richard Johnson, and Richard Judde, to tarie at Vologda,

* Hakluyt, I, pp. 382, 383, ed. 1599. The date is here misprinted 1588. See also Dr. Beke's learned *Introduction to De Veer's Voyages*. Hak. Soc. Pub. 1853.

† Hakluyt, I, pp. 433, 434, 435.

and M. Chancellor,* Henry Lane, Edward Prise, Robert Best, and I should goe to Mosco." † In closing the letter he says: "And to certifie you of the weather here, men say that these hundred yeres was never so warme weather in this countrey at this time of the yere. But as yesternight wee received a letter from *Christopher Hudson* from a Citie called Yeraslaue, who is comming hither with certaine of our wares, but the winter did deceive him, so that he was faine to tarie by the way: and he wrote that the Emperours present was deliuered to a gentleman at Vologda, and the sled did overthrow and the butte of hollocke ‡ was lost, which made us all very sory."

There exists, however, an epistle written by Christopher Hudson in 1601, which gives a glimpse of his whereabouts the year previous to George Killingworth's letter, so that we may commence our acquaintance with him from the date which he himself names:—"in the yeare 1554, I came from Dansyck by land, through all the maryne townes [of Germany]." §

In 1559 he would seem to have been residing at Moscow. The following paragraph occurs in a communication addressed from that city on the 18th of September, 1559, by "Master Anthonie Jenkinson, vpon his returne from Boghar, to the Worshipful Master Henrie Lane, Agent for the Moscouie Companie, resident in Vologda:" * * * "As touching the Companies affaires heere, I referre you to Christopher Hudson's letters, for that I am but newly arriued." ‖

Hakluyt has preserved also: "A letter of the Moscouie Companie to their Agents in Russia, Master Henrie Lane, Christopher Hudson, and Thomas Glouer,¶ sent in their seuenth voyage to Saint Nicholas

* The word *master* was then used, instead of the more modern *mister*. The letter M. was the usual abbreviation.

† Hakluyt, II, p. 263.

‡ A sort of sweet wine.

§ *Egerton Papers*, Camden Society Publications, London, 1840, p. 338.

‖ Hakluyt, I, page 305.

¶ Thomas Glover went to Russia as a servant of the Muscovy Company; but subsequently joined with others in carrying on an independent trade. As early as 1567, Queen Elizabeth complained to the Czar of this conduct of Glover and his associates, and that they had married Polish wives. Glover was banished from Russia in 1573. See *Hamel*, pp. 186 to 221; Bond's *Notes* to Horsey's *Travels*.

with three ships, the Swallowe, the Philip and Marie, and the Jesus, the fifth of May, 1560." As it speaks of the internal affairs of the great corporation, and furnishes several facts about Christopher Hudson, no apology is offered for introducing the following quotations: "We hope in your next letters to heare good newes of the proceedings of Master Antonie Jenkinson.* We perceive by his letters that Astracan is not so good a Mart towne as the same has gone of it: and maruell much that round pewter should be so good, and good chepe there, and from whence it should come. And whereas you write that you wil come for England in our next shippes, we would gladly have you to remaine there untill the next yere following, for the better instruction of our servants there; who have not had so long time of continuance for the language, and knowledge of the people, countrey and wares as you have had. Nevertheless if you will needs come away, we have no doubt, but that you will have good order with our servants there, namely with *Christopher Hodson*,† and Thomas Glover, whom we appoint to remaine there as agents in your roome, till further order bee taken: not doubting but that they will use themselves so discreetly and wisely in all their doings, as shall be to the worship and benefite of this Company. And as we have a good hope in them that they will be carefull, diligent and true in all their doings: So have we no lesse hope in all the reste of our servants there, that they will bee not onely obedient to them (considering what roome they be in) but also will be carefull, painefull, diligent, and true every one in his roome and place for the benefite and profite of the Company: That hereafter in the absence of others they may be called and placed in the like roome there or elsewhere. And if you find any to be disobedient and stubborne, and will not be ruled; wee will you should send him home in our

* Anthony Jenkinson was afterwards ambassador from Queen Elizabeth to the Emperor of Russia from 1571 to 1572. Hakluyt, I, p. 402. A very interesting résumé of his labours as the agent of the Company, and as a sort of envoy to the Czar previous to the year 1565, is to be found in Mr. Edwin A. Bond's *Introduction to the Hak. Soc. Pub.* for 1856, pp. iii, iv, v.

Mr. Bond, in his notes to *The Travels of Sir Jerome Horsey*, says: "It is believed that Anthony Jenkinson was, in the year 1567, intrusted by Ivan with secret orders to negociate a marriage with Queen Elizabeth. See *Hamel*, p. 177, *et seq.*"

† *Chris. Hodson* and Thos. Glouer, *appointed Agents*, 1560. This is Hakluyt's side note, vol. I, page 307.

shipps: who shall find such small favour and friendships during the time that he hath to serve, as by his disobedience and evil service hee hath deserved. *And whereas Christopher Hodson hath written to come home, as partly he hath good cause, considering the death of his father and mother, yet in regard that Sir George Barne* * *and the Ladie his wife, were his special friends in his absence,* we doubt not but that he wil remain in the roome, which we have appointed him, if you doe not tarie and remaine there, till farther order be taken: and for his seruice and paines hee shall be considered, as reason is, as friendly as if his friends were living. Thus we trust you will take such order the one to remaine at the Mosco, and the other at Colmogro, or elsewhere, as most neede is. Thomas Alcocke is desirous to be in the Mosco: nevertheless you shall find him reasonable to serue where he may doe most good." †

It would appear from the citations just given that Christopher Hudson, who had now been for several years confidentially employed in Russia, was appointed in 1560 an agent and representative of the Muscovy Company. ‡ The death of his father and mother is mentioned as the cause of his having written for leave to return home to England, but he is reminded that "Sir George Barne and the Ladie his wife, were his special friends in his absence," and he is assured that his services will be as favourably regarded as though his friends were still living. He was not the son of Henry Hudson, the founder of the Muscovy Company, who died five years previous to the date of this letter, as might be imagined, as the death of his mother is also spoken of, and Henry Hudson's wife Barbara survived her first husband, and was living in 1568 as the widow of Sir Richard Champion.

It is probable that Christopher Hudson was the son of Sir Christopher Hudson, who was himself the son, or more probably the brother of the first Henry Hudson.

* Sir George Barne or Barns. John Barns was one of the crew in Henry Hudson's second voyage forty-eight years later, viz. in 1608. *Vide* Purchas III, 574.

† Hakluyt, I, p. 305.

‡ For an account of his duties, powers and authority, see the "commission" given by the Muscovy Company to their agents resident in Russia. Hakluyt, I, 249.

In the Calendars of Chancery Proceedings, Reign of Elizabeth, Volume Second, page fifty-four, it is recorded that Christopher Hoddesdon, Esq^re^, was plaintiff in a suit to recover lands in the Manor of Leighton alias Leighton Bussard held by him from the Dean and Canons of Windsor, Bedford County. In the third volume, page two hundred and sixty-seven of the same work, Sir Christopher Hoddesdon, Knight, and Christopher Hoddesdon are defendants in a suit brought by Sir Henry Wallop and Dame Elizabeth his wife, daughter of Robert Corbett, Esq^re^, deceased, to establish the claim by the descent of the plaintiff Elizabeth, to "two messuages and divers lands holden of the manor of Laighton Bussarde alias Bude serte (Beau desert), Bedford county, late the estate of the said Robert Corbett, of which manor the dean and canons of St. George's Chapel, Windsor, are seized in fee, and the defendants Hoddesdon claim under a lease from them."

This merely furnishes additional proof of the infinite difficulty experienced in tracing individuals whose identity is so often hidden under the disguise of a misspelled name.*

From the manner in which they are associated in at least one suit, it would be natural to suppose that Sir Christopher Hudson, of Leighton Bussarde, and Christopher Hudson, Agent of the Muscovy Company, were father and son. There are also grounds for believing that they both belonged to the family of Henry Hudson, the elder. For we are told by R. Sims, in his Index to *Heraldic Visitations*, that the Hudsons of Leighton Bussarde, Bedfordshire, were from Herts, and that the Hudsons of London, and of Kent, were also from Herts.

* I have preserved the extract which follows without any more definite thought than that, perhaps, the apparent relationship between the fact in the text and the statement given below, may contribute a ray of light on the subject, and enable some one to explore and explain satisfactorily the connection, if any there be, between the two :—

"In the Deanery of Windsore succeeded Dr. Giles Tomson a little before Qu. Elizabeth's death, and in the mastership of the Hospital of *St. Cross* (which was designed by the Queen for *George Brook*, brother to Henry Lord Cobham), *K. James*, at his first entry into England, gave it to *Mr. James Hudson*, who had been his Agent there during part of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth. But *Hudson* being a Lay-man therefore not found capable of it, Sir Tho. Lake, for some reward given to him to quit his interest therein, prevailed with the King to give it to his brother Arthur Lake." Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*, I, 735, edition of 1691.

It is probable that the spot where the several branches originated, and from whence they derived the family name, was Hoddesdon, a town in Hertfordshire, $4\frac{3}{4}$ miles south-east from Hertford, and 17 miles north by east from London, on the road to Ware. This theory is strengthened by the fact that the name of this place is supposed to have been derived from its having been the residence of Hodo, or Oddo, a Danish chief, or from a tumulus or barrow, raised here to his memory.* This view is also confirmed by Camden's derivation of Hodson from Hod or Oddo.† The Thatched House at Hoddesdon is immortalized by "honest Izaak" in the opening dialogue of his "Complete Angler."

It is a remarkable fact that George Barne, alderman of London, was also lord of the above manor of Leighton Bussarde, Bedfordshire, in 1580.‡ This is the more noticeable, as he was the son of the Sir George Barnes and the lady his wife, who were mentioned in the Muscovy Company's letter as having been the warm friends of Christopher Hudson, and it would seem to indicate a family relationship. §

Christopher Hudson, who was appointed in 1560, to the responsible office of Agent of the Muscovy Company, seems to have discharged with singular fidelity and ability the arduous duties which devolved upon him. His advice was constantly asked, and he was apparently occasionally summoned to England on official business of importance. Having visited his native country in 1569, he was sent early in the winter of that year, with three ships laden with merchandize to the Narve, now Narva, a town situated eighty miles southwest from the present city of Saint Petersburgh.‖

* Lewis's *Topog. Dict. of England*, II, London, 1831.

† Camden's *Remaines*, ed. 1637, p. 133.

‡ *Cal. Chanc. Proc.*, Rg. of Eliz., I, p. 5.

§ Ex. Hoddeson, Esq., is mentioned by Fuller as having been resident at Westning, county of Bedfordshire, and sheriff of that county in the 33rd year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, A.D. 1591.

Ex. is probably an abbreviation for Christopher. This would suggest the belief that it was the same Christopher Hudson who was so prominently connected with the Muscovy Company.

‖ Here Peter the Great of Russia was totally defeated by Charles XII of Sweden,

Upon his arrival at the Narve, Christopher Hudson ascertained that the ships which he had brought with him would be not only insufficient to contain the goods that were soon expected from the interior of Russia, but would not accommodate even the wares that were already awaiting shipment. Having therefore landed their cargoes, he reloaded the ships and despatched them to England, with an earnest request to Sir William Garrard, Governor of the Muscovy Company, to forward immediately to the Narve, thirteen ships suitably armed, to withstand the attacks of the Freebooters.

Accordingly the company sent out in the Spring of 1570, a fleet of thirteen sail, under the command of William Burrough, who took and destroyed five piratical vessels, and forwarded their crews as prisoners to the Emperor of Russia. Hakluyt in his *Preface to The Reader*, in his first volume, calls particular attention to "the memorable voyage of *M. Christopher Hodson*, and *M. William Burrough*, Anno 1570, to the Narue, wherein with merchants Ships onely, they tooke fiue Strong and warrelike Ships of the Freebooters, which lay within the Sound of Denmark of purpose to intercept our English Fleete."

To one unacquainted with Hakluyt's somewhat obscure style, it would appear from the foregoing that Christopher Hudson accompanied William Burrough on this occasion. That such was not the case may be readily seen by the following "Copy of a Letter sent to the Emperour of Moscouie, by Christopher Hodsdon and William Burrough, Anno 1570."

"Most Mightie Emperour, &c., Whereas Sir William Garrard and his felowship the company of English merchants, this last winter sent hither to the Narue three ships laden with merchandise, which was left here, and with it *Christopher Hodsdon, one of the said felowship, and their chiefe doer in this place*, who when hee came first hither, and untill such time as hee had despatched those ships from hence, was in hope of goods to lade twelve or thirteene sailes of good ships, against this shipping, wherefore he wrote unto the sayd Sir William Garrard and his companie to send hither this Spring the sayd number

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then in his nineteenth year, 30th November 1700. Having three horses shot under him, Charles is reported to have exclaimed, "These people seem disposed to give me exercise." Narva was taken by Peter in 1704.

of thirteene ships. And because that in their coming hither wee found the freebooters on the sea, and supposing this yeere that they would be very strong, he therefore gave the said *Sir William* and his Companie advise to furnish the sayd number of ships so strongly, as they should bee able to withstand the force of the Freebooters: whereupon they have according to his advice sent this yeere thirteene good ships together well furnished with men and munition, and all other necessaries for the warres, of which 13 ships William Burrough one of the said felowship is Captaine generall, unto whom there was given in charge, that if hee met with any the Danske Freebooters, or whatsoever robbers and theeves that are enemies to your highnesse, he should doe his best to apprehend and take them. It so hapned that the tenth day of this moneth the sayd *William* with his fleete, met with five ships of the Freebooters neere unto an Island called *Tuttee*, which is about 50. versts from Narve, unto which freebooters hee with his fleete gave chase, and tooke of them the Admirall, wherein were left but three men, the rest fled to shore in their boats amongst the woods upon Tuttee, on which ship he set fire and burnt her. He also tooke foure more of those ships which are now here, and one ship escaped him: out of which foure ships some of the men fled in their boates, and so escaped, others were slain in fight, and some of them when they saw they could not escape, cast themselves willingly into the Sea and were drowned. So that in these five ships were left but 83. men.

"The said *Wil. Borough* when he came hither to Narve, finding here *Christopher Hodsdon* aforenamed, both the said *Christopher* and *William* together, in the name of *Sir William Garrard* and the rest of their whole companie and felowship, did present into your highnesse of those Freebooters taken by our ships 82. men, which we delivered here into *Knez Voivoda*, the 13. of this moneth. One man of those Freebooters we have kept by us, whose name is *Haunce Snarke*, Captaine. And the cause why we have done it is this: when wee should have delivered him with the reste of his felowes unto the *Voivodaes* officers, there were of our Englishmen more than 50. which fell on their knees unto us, requesting that he might be reserved in the ship, and caried back into England, and the cause why they so earnestly entreated for him, is, that some of those our Englishmen had bene taken with Freebooters, and by his meanes had their lives saved, with great favour besides, which they found at his hands.

Wherefore if it please your highnesse to permit it, we will carry him home with us to England, wherein we request your majestie's favour: notwithstanding what you command of him shal be observed.

"Wee have also sent our servant to your highnesse with such bestellings and writings as were found in those shippes: whereby your majestie may see by whom, and in what order they were set out, and what they pretended, which writings wee have commended unto Knez Yorive your Majestie's Voivoda at Plesco, by our servant. And have requested his furtherance for the safe deliverie of them to your Majestie's hands: which writings when you have perused, wee desire that they may bee returned unto us by this our servant, as speedily as may bee: for these ships which we now have here will be soon despatched from hence, for that wee have not goods to lade above the half of them. And the cause is, we have this winter (by your Majestie's order) bene kept from traffiquing, to the Companies great loss. But hoping your majestie will hereafter have consideration thereof, and that we may have free libertie to traffique in all partes of your majestie's countries, according to the privilege given unto us, we pray for your majesties health, with prosperous successe to the pleasure of God. From Narve the 15. of July, Anno 1570.

Your Majesties most humble
and obedient
CHRISTOPHER HODSDON, WILLIAM BOROUGH."*

Nothing whatever is known respecting Christopher Hudson during the period of ten years, subsequent to the date of his letter to the Emperor of Russia. In 1580, however, he was once more living in England, and was engaged with several other prominent men in a private adventure to Brazil. It appears that as early as the 26th June 1578, one John Whithall, an Englishman, who had married, and was then living at "Santos in Brazil," wrote to Master Richard Staper,† urging him to send to that port, a fine bark of seventy or eighty tons, in charge of a Portuguese pilot, and laden with a variety of articles, which were enumerated in a list that accompanied the

* Hakluyt, I, 401, 402.

† Mr. Richard *Staper*, an Alderman elect, who was the greatest Merchant of his Time, and the chiefest Actor in discovering the *Turkey* and *East-India* Trades, died June 30, 1608. *Mag. Brit. Acct. of London*, vol. III, p. 101, edition of 1738.

letter.* John Whithall also corresponded with Master John Bird, Master Robert Walkaden, and his brother James Whithall of London; promising them at least two hundred per cent profit on the cargo sent out, and equal gains on the return voyage. Accordingly after some delay, "Christopher Hodsdon, Anthonie Garrard, Thomas Bramlie, John Bird, and William Elkin," formed an association to undertake the enterprise. Having procured the good ship the Minion of London, they loaded her with such goods as they were directed to procure, and despatched her to Brazil on the 3d of November, 1580; sending in her a letter directed to John Whithall, written in London, October the 24th, and signed by each of them. Although Hakluyt has preserved a copy of this letter, together with "certaine notes" of the voyage to Brazil, written by Thomas Grigs, purser of the ship, we have no account of the result of the speculation.

Two or three years after his Brazilian venture, Christopher Hudson was prominently and zealously busy with other leading members of the Muscovy or Russia Company, in furthering an attempt to discover and colonize the "northern and western parts of America."

On the 22d March, 1574, a petition had been addressed to Queen Elizabeth by Sir Humphrey Gilbert, Sir George Peckham, Mr. Carlile, Sir Richard Grenville and others, to allow of an enterprise for discovery of sundry rich and unknown lands, "fatally reserved for England and for the honor of your Maj^{ty}."† Four years later, viz.: the 11th June, 1578, the Queen granted letters patent to Sir Humphrey Gilbert to discover and take possession of all remote and barbarous lands unoccupied by any Christian prince or people.‡ Having made an unsuccessful expedition under this grant, Sir Humphrey was forced to return to England, with the loss of a fine ship, and the "valiant gentleman Miles Morgan."§ Undismayed by misfortune, Gilbert's gallant and energetic nature, always equal to an emergency, enabled him to commend the subject of a second voyage for investigation and settlement in America, to the

* Hakluyt, III, 701, 702, 703, ed. 1600.

† *Domestic Corresp. Eliz.*, vol. XCV, No. 63 Cal., p. 475, cited by Mr. Sainsbury.

‡ Hakluyt, III, 135, ed. 1600.

§ Hakluyt, III, 146.

most favourable notice of many influential men.* Accordingly on the 11th March, 1583,† we find Sir Francis Walsingham writing to Master Thomas Aldworth, merchant, and at that time mayor of the city of Bristol, in the following terms:

"I have for certaine causes deferred the answere of your letter of Nouember last till now, which I hope commeth all in good time. Your good inclination to the Westerne discouerie I cannot but much commend. And for that Sir Humfrey Gilbert, as you haue heard long since, hath bene preparing into those parts being readie to imbarke within these 10. dayes, who needeth some further supply of shipping then yet he hath, I am of opinion that you shall do well if the ship or 2. barkes you write of, be put in a readinesse to goe alongst with him, or so soone after as you may. I hope this trauell wil proue profitable to the Adventurers and generally beneficiall to the whole realme: herein I pray you conferre with these bearers, M. Richard Hackluyt, and M. Thomas Steuenton, to whome I referre you: And so bid you heartily farewell."‡

Thomas Aldworth replied "to the right honourable Sir Francis Walsingham, principall Secretary to her Maiestie, concerning a Westerne voyage intended for the discouery of the coast of America, lying to the South-west of Cape Briton," in a letter dated at Bristol on the 27th March, 1583. He said: "I presently conferred with my friends in private, whom I know most affectionate to this godly enterprise, especially with M. William Salterne deputie of our companie of merchants; whereupon my selfe being as then sicke, with as conuenient speede as he could, hee caused an assembly of the merchants to be gathered: where after dutifull mention of your honourable

* The following affords a glimpse of Gilbert's dealings with Dr. Dee:

"[1580] Sep. 10th, Sir Humfry Gilbert granted me my request to him, made by letter, for the royaltyes of discovery all to the North above the parallel of the 50 degree of latitude, in the presence of Stoner, Sir John Gilbert, his servant or reteiner; and thereupon toke me by the hand with faithful promises in his lodging of John Cooke's howse in Wicheross strete, where wee dyned onely us three together, being Satterday." Dr. Dee's *Priv. Diary*, p. 8, Cam. Soc. Pub., 1842.

† 1582, as printed in Hakluyt, III, 182, is clearly incorrect, as may be gathered from Aldworth's reply dated March 27, 1583.

‡ Hakluyt, III, 182, ed. 1600.

disposition for the benefite of this citie, he by my appointment caused your letters being directed unto me priuatly, to be read in publike, and after some good light giuen by M. Hakluyt unto them that were ignorant of the Countrey and enterprise, and were desirous to be resolued, the motion grew generally so well to be liked, that there was eftsoones set downe by mens owne hands then present, and apparently known by their own speach, and very willing offer, the summe of 1000. markes and upward: which summe if it should not suffice, we doubt not but otherwise to furnish out for this Westerne discouery, a ship of three score, and a barke of 40. tunne, to bee left in the countrey under the direction and gouernment of your *Sonne in law M. Carlile*, of whom we haue heard much good, if it shall stand with your honors good liking and his acceptation." *

The "M. Carlile" incorrectly referred to in the above letter, as the son-in-law of Sir Francis Walsingham, was Christopher Carlile, who, together with Gilbert, Peckham and Grenville, had nine years before petitioned Queen Elizabeth.† He was in reality the stepson of Sir Francis Walsingham. His mother was Anne Barnes, the daughter of Sir George Barnes, the elder, Lord Mayor of London in 1552.‡ His father, Alexander Carlile, "master of the Vyntoners," died in 1561, and an account of his funeral is given by Machyn.§ His mother‖ married secondly Sir Francis Walsingham.

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* Hakluyt, III, 182, ed. 1600.

† *Domes. Corresp. Eliz.*, vol. XCV, No. 63 Cal., p. 475.

‡ Burke's *Hist. of the Commoners*, I, 139.

§ *Machyn's Diary*, 269.

‖ Burke's *Hist. of the Commoners*, I, 139. Anne Barnes, widow of Alexander Carlile, was the first wife of Sir Francis Walsingham. She died, leaving no children by Sir Francis, who married a second time, a widow, Ursula, relict of Richard Worsley, Governor of the Isle of Wight. By his second wife Sir Francis Walsingham left one daughter, that was married thrice; first, to Sir Philip Sidney; secondly, to Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex; and thirdly, to Richard Bourk, Earl of Clanricarde, in Ireland. Burke's *Hist. of Commoners*, II, 448. *Biog. Britannica*, VII, 4142. *Lodge*, III.

Sir Francis Walsyngham, of an ancient family in Norfolk, was the third and youngest son of William Walsynham, of Scadbury, in the parish of Chislehurst, in Kent, by Joyce, daughter of Edmund Denny, of Cheshunt, in Hertfordshire. He was born at Chislehurst in 1536. He died April 6th, 1590, at his house in Seething Lane. Chalmer's *Biog. Dict.*, XXXI, 69.

It appears that in April 1583, immediately after the receipt of Aldworth's answer to Sir Francis Walsingham, Captain Carlile wrote "A briefe and summary discourse vpon the intended voyage to the hithermost parts of *America*, * * for the better inducement to satisfie such Merchants of the Moscouian companie and others, as in disbursing their money towards the furniture of the present charge, doe demand forthwith a present returne of gaine, albeit their said particular disbursements are required but in very slender summes, the highest being 25. li. the second at 12 li. 10 s. and the lowest at 6. pound five shillings." *

In comparing the advantages to be derived from the present enterprise, with the uncertainties attending the trade of the Muscovy Company to Russia, Carlile remarks: "It is well knowen, that what by the charges of the first discouery [by Richard Chancelor], and by the Great gifts bestowed on the Empereur [of Russia] and his nobilitie, togither with the leud dealing of some of their servants, who thought themselues safe enough from orderly punishment, it cost the [Muscovy or Russia] company aboue fourscore thousand pounds, before it coulde be brought to any profitable reckoning. And now that after so long a patience and so great a burthen of expences, the same began to frame to some good course and commoditie: It falleth to very ticklish termes, and to as slender likelihood of any further goodnes, as any other trade that may be named.

"For first the estate of those Countreys and the Emperours dealings, are things more fickle then are by euerybody understood.

"Next, the Dutchmen are there so crept in as they daily augment their trade thither, which may well confirme that uncertainty of the Emperor's disposition to keepe promise with our nation.

"Thirdly, the qualitie of the voyage, such as may not be performed but once the yeere.

"Fourthly, the charges of all Ambassadours betweene that Prince and her Maiesty, are alwayes borne by the merchants stocke.

"And lastly, the danger of the King of Denmarke, who besides that presently he is like to enforce a tribute on us [the Muscovy

* Hakluyt, III, 182.

Company], hath likewise an aduantage upon the ships in their voyage, either homewards or outwards whensoever he listeth to take the opportunitie."

In strong contrast to these difficulties and dangers, Carlile brought forward the following arguments in favor of Sir Humphrey Gilbert's contemplated voyage to New Foundland.

"1. As first it is to be understood, that it is not any long course, for it may be perfourmed too and fro in foure moneths after the discouerie thereof.

"2. Secondly, that one wind sufficeth to make the passage, whereas most of your other voyages of like length, are subiect to 3. or 4. winds.

"3. Thirdly, that it is to be perfourmed at all times of the yeere.

"4. Fourthly, that the passage is upon the high sea, whereby you are not bound to the knowledge of dangers, on any other coast, more then of that Countrey, and of ours here at home.

"5. Fiftly, that those parts of England and Ireland, which lie aptest for the proceeding outward or homeward upon this voyage, are very well stored of goodly harbours.

"6. Sixtly, that it is to bee accounted of no danger at all as touching the power of any forreine prince or state, when it is compared with any the best of all other voyages before recited.

"7. And to the godly minded, it hath this comfortable commoditie, that in this *trade* their Factours, *bee they their seruants or children* shall haue no instruction or confessions of Idolatrous Religion forced upon them, but contrarily shall be at their free libertie of conscience, and shall find the same Religion exercised, which is most agreeable unto their *Parents and Masters.*

"As for the merchandising, which is the matter especially looked for, albeit that for the present we are not certainely able to promise any such like quantitie, as is now at the best time of the Moscouian

trade brought from thence: So likewise is there not demanded any such proportion of daily expences, as was at the first, and as yet is consumed in that of Moscouia and other.

"But when this of *America*, shall haue been haunted and practised thirtie yeeres to an ende, as the other hath bene, I doubt not by God's grace, that for the tenne Shippes that are now commonly employed once the yeere into Moscouia, there shall in this voyage twise tenne be imployed well, twise the yeere at the least."*

Christopher Hudson, and his old friend and comrade William Burrough, were active and prominent members of the Committee, appointed by the Muscovy or Russia Company, to take into consideration the arguments of Captain Christopher Carlile, and to confer with him "vpon his intended discouerie and attempt into the hithermost parts of America."† The following abstract of the Report of the Committee is taken from the Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, edited by W. Noël Sainsbury. ‡

"The Committies are well persuaded that the country is very fruitful; inhabited with savage people of a mild and tractable disposition, and of all other unfrequented places 'the only most fittest and most commodious for us to intermeddle withal.' They propose that one hundred men be conveyed thither, to remain one year, who with friendly entreaty of the people, may enter into the better knowledge of the country, and gather what commodities may be hereafter expected from it. The charges will amount to £4000, the city of Bristol having very readily offered £1000, the residue remains to be furnished by the city of London. Privileges to be procured by Mr. Carlile for the first adventurers; also terms upon which future settlers will be allowed to plant. In the patent to be granted by the Queen, liberty will be given to transport all contented to go, who will be bound to stay there ten years at least. None to go over without license of the patentees, neither to inhabit nor traffic within 200 leagues of the place where 'the General shall have first settled his being and residence.'"

* Hakluyt, III, 184.

† Hakluyt, III, 188. C. Hudson's name, in the printed list, is spelled Hoddesden.

‡ *Cal. State Papers*, Col. Series, I. London, 1860.

The above is given as the most important portion of the document in the State Paper Office, entitled "Points set down by the Committees appointed in the behalf of the Company to confer with Mr. Carleill upon his intended discovery and attempt in the northern parts of America."* This is the earliest paper preserved and calendared by Mr. Sainsbury, who says in his preface, that it belongs to the year 1574;† he accordingly introduces that date into the title of his work. It is evident, however, from the mark of interrogation placed after 1574, on the first page of his Calendar, that he is not entirely certain as to the propriety of this chronological arrangement.‡

Having perfected all his arrangements, and obtained his supplies, Sir Humphrey Gilbert departed from "Caushen Bay neere Plimmouth,"§ on Tuesday the eleventh of June, 1583, with a fleet of five ships. One of the best of these, however, forsook his company, the thirteenth day of the same month and returned into England.‖ This was the ominous commencement of a series of misfortunes which culminated on the night of the twelfth of September following, with the loss of Sir Humphrey Gilbert, and the little frigate ¶ in which he was returning to England, after having taken possession of Newfoundland by virtue of his patent from Queen Elizabeth.**

Christopher Carlile's name does not appear in the list of officers, and it is not probable that he accompanied Gilbert's expedition, although interested in its equipment and success.†† Two years later he was second in command under Sir Francis Drake;‡‡ and in

* *Cal. State Papers*, Colonial Series, I.

† *Cal. State Papers*, Col. Series, 1574–1660, VII.

‡ Same, p. 1. Its real date is the spring of 1583.

§ Hakluyt, III, 165. Cawsand Bay is meant.

‖ Hakluyt, III, 149.

¶ Hakluyt, III, 159.

** Hakluyt, III, 165; III, 151.

†† Hakluyt, III, 148.

‡‡ In 1585 Drake fitted out an expedition against Spain, captured St. Jago, carried St. Domingo by storm, took Carthagena, and, after creating a panic along the whole coast of the Peninsula, was compelled to return home by yellow fever breaking out in the fleet (Froude, *History of England*, vol. XII, pp. 31–37).

Thomas Cotes's account of that West Indian voyage, he is described as "Master Christopher Carleil, Lieutenant General, a man of long experience in the warres, as well by sea as land, who had formerly carried high offices in both kindes, in many fights, which he discharged alwaies very happily, and with great good reputation." *

Christopher Hudson had from the outset taken a deep interest in Sir Humphrey Gilbert's scheme. Entering into his views in many respects, he had recommended the Muscovy or Russia Company to assist in raising the funds requisite to dispatch Gilbert on his voyage of investigation and settlement. His own acute and sagacious intellect had been engaged for many years in planning the exploration of America, and he felt the importance of the undertaking. How sadly Christopher Hudson must have listened to the news of the disastrous termination of his hopes, and the tragic death of his friend. He was not the man, however, to be daunted by adverse fortune, and he undoubtedly made other essays in a similar direction. In the year 1601 we find him holding the office of governor of the Merchant Adventurers, and writing to Lord Ellesmere in regard to the export of cloths. The manufacture of woolen cloth was introduced into England by Edward the Third, in the early part of the fourteenth century ;† and under the title of Merchants of the Staple, the Mercers became extensive dealers in them. Having attained high distinction and eminence, the fraternity of Mercers was incorporated in the year 1393.‡ From the body known as Merchants of the Staple, another

* Thomas Cotes, in Hakluyt, III, 534.

† Rymer.

‡ The words *Mercer* and *Merchant Adventurer* are familiar to many persons, who perhaps do not attach a very definite idea to either term. By the former appellation, in remote times, was meant any dealer in small wares; but as the commerce of this country became more extended, the operations of the mercers assumed a more important character, and the words *mercer* and *merchant* became nearly synonymous. Their existence as a company may be traced as far back as the year 1172, though they were not incorporated till 1393. They take precedence of all the other city companies, and number among their members, says Hall, "several Kings, princes, nobility, and ninety-eight Lord mayors." Sir Richard Whittington, whose romantic tale is familiarly known to every one, was a member of this company; as was Sir Geoffrey Bullen, maternal grandfather to Queen Elizabeth; and, what is a yet greater boast, Queen Elizabeth herself, who honoured the mercers by becoming a free sister of this company. It is a remark-

society arose in 1358, styled the Company of Merchant Adventurers. They did not, however, obtain this name until the reign of Henry the Seventh. They had in the first instance established a factory at Antwerp for the manufacture of woolen cloth. Their sovereign, seeing the flourishing condition of their trade, encouraged them to remove into England, which they accordingly did. The king was induced, by the success of his experiment, to prohibit the exportation of English wool, as well as to forbid the importation of all foreign cloth into the realm.

Burgon says: "The prosperity of the Merchant Adventurers was permanent, and Sir Thomas Gresham, with many other mercers, was enrolled among them. Certain privileges and immunities, originally granted to this company by charter, had been confirmed to them by every successive monarch since their incorporation; and few as they were in number, they virtually monopolized the commerce of the country. They constituted a fellowship which was under the control of a Governor elected out of their own body; and they appointed deputy-governors for all their residences at home and abroad."* Such was the powerful corporation of which Christopher Hudson was now the chief governor.

It appears that the Earl of Cumberland had obtained from Queen Elizabeth a patent for the exportation of cloth, which involved him in a dispute with the company of Merchant Adventurers. Fearing lest his adversaries should succeed in setting aside the grant, or rendering it unprofitable, the Earl wrote the following letter to Lord Ellesmere, one of the Lords of the Council, praying him earnestly for assistance. From this epistle, which is endorsed by Ellesmere, "The E. of Cumberland, 5 Martj., 1601," we learn that Sir. R. Cecill and Sir Edward Stafford had both previously enjoyed similar patents.

"*To the Ryght Honourable my very good Lo. Keper of the Great Seale of Inglande.*

"My good Lo. I resolved to have attended your Lo. this daye at

able fact, that there is scarcely a single mercer in the Mercers' Company at the present day. *Herbert's Hist.*, &c., and *Stow*, by Strype, *passim*. *Burgon's Gresham*, vol. I, pp. 185, 186.

* Burgon's *Life of Sir Thomas Gresham*, vol. I, 188.

the Court, but one of the sicke fittis wherewith I am often troubled forceth my staye, and, doubtyng least hir Maj. should enter into speeche with your Lo. concernyng my cause, pardon me for rememberyng you howe it standeth. The only inconvenyence can cum by it to the Marchant Adventurerrs is my grauntyng leave to otherrs not free of ther cumpany, or to interloperrs though they be free, to shippe clothes contrary to the order of ther courtes here. I have ever beene contented, and still am, that thoes persons which ar obedyent to the Government shall only have lycence from me, soe long as your Lo. of the Councell doothe not direct me contrary; and for the pryce I will refer myselfe to any reasonable consitheration. For thoes clothes which have already beene shipped by unfreemen in straungerrs bottoms, the faule of cloth by the marchants practis forced me to seeke out any which would bwy; soe they broke the malytyus platt which was layde to macke the clothyer exclayme upon me, by which culler, provyng my patent hurtfull to the commonwelthe, it should have been revoked. Alsoe I was extreamly urged by hir Maj. officerrs in the Custom House, and tould that if I should refuse to grant lycense to such as for dyvers years past had used to shippe, it would soe much prejudice the Qu. in her custom as justly I should be founde fault with for it; and to approve that they myght passe in straungerrs bottoms showed me tooe letters to allowe it, writte to them by great counsellorrs, soe as I hoope I am not in the wysest censure to be condemned.

"Sense my grant I have shipped over some 1200 clothes: there was nether Mr. Secretory nor Sir Ed. Stafford, but shipped 3000 at the least before the sould ther patentes. My grant but for tenne years, the least of thers continued soe long: this last, if I had not louked into it, would have donne 15 at the least, when I am tyed to lycence none but them (which I willyngly submit my selfe to as long as your Lo. shall see it good for the reame), ether can I not in tenne yeare passe above 100,000 clouthes, or for so many as I dooe I gayne to hir Ma. the custom which heretofore she was deceved of, soe as by my grant hir Ma. shall not only receve 10,000*li*, but be truly payed hir custome, which I doubt not shal be twyse as muche more, for that which heretofore she never received any thyng; for all the former grantes, which thus long contynued, were certayne, myne (if upon experience hurtful) to be revoked, and I protest to your Lo. upon my soule, I will as willyngly, whensoe it is found, laye it at hir Maj. feete

as I dutyfull receved it. All this consitheryd I hoope your Lo. will favor me. Her Maj. hath allwayes beene gratius, and I dout not will, out of hir owne disposition, be redy to favor; but fearyng howe she maye be enformed, I macke bould to laye before your Lo. the truth of my cause, not soe much carying for the profitt, howe much soever I need, as for the disgrace which it would be to me, if thes men, that yett never prevailed agaynst any former patenty, should nowe tryumphe over me, whoe only they mislyke, for that I will not see hir Maj. deceved as in former tymes she hathe beene. I protest to your Lo. the losse of my hoole estate should not cum soe neare my harte as this disgrace, which though, the justnes of my cause consithered, I feare not, yett the unsupportable burden that it would be, if it should happen, trobleth me, and causeth me thus to troble your Lo., to whoes wyse consitheration I present thes, only assuryng your Lo. that if I contynue in this I will dooe honest and good servis.

Your Lo. to command,

GEORGE CUMBERLAND." *

On the 6th of March 1601, the day after the above communication was received, Christopher Hudson, in his official capacity as governor of the Merchant Adventurers, dispatched the ensuing letter to Lord Ellesmere. One of its paragraphs contains the earliest information yet discovered concerning the writer, Christopher Hudson.

"*To the Right Honorable and my verie good Lord, the Lord Keeper, one of her Majesties most honorable Privie Councell, at the Court. d. d.*

Right Honorable and my verie good Lord. Forasmuche as dyvers matters weare not on Wedsondaie last throughlie aunswered so large as they might have binne in the behalf of the Marchauntes Adventurers, and knowing as I do the good affection which your Lop. not onely carryeth to the honnour of our most gracious and excelent good Prince, our Saveraigne good Lady Queene and Empresse,† but also the

* *Egerton Papers, Cam. Soc. Pub.*, 1840.

† It is curious to see a title applied to Queen Elizabeth which, applied to Queen Victoria, has caused so great a stir in our own day.

good of the common wealth, have thought good for the discharge of my dewtie to make knowne unto your Honnour so much as my proper experience yeldeth unto me, as by these artikles following unto your good Lordshipp maie apppeare. And now to the fyrst allegation. Whereas it was said that before her Ma^tie^ graunted privileges to the Merchantes Adventurers in Germanie, all other Englishmen might freely passe thither with their wares and commodyties, the which I graunt to be true; but I denye that there was any traffique in Germanye by Englishmen before the begyning of her Ma^ties^ raigne. For in the yeare 1554 I came from Dansyck by land, through all the maryne townes nere the sea, except Stoad and Embden, and found no Englishmen using any trade in them, nor any cloth to be solde, but onely by the Stylyard men. As for the upland townes in Germanye, it is well knowne they had their factors and servants at Auwerp, not onely to buy their cloth of the Company aforesaid, but also to vent suche comodyties as their countrie yelded; and it is verie manyfest that before the said Company settled their trades at Embden and Stoade there was no cloth by Englishmen shipped thither, which trade the Company fownd out when they were in daunger in the Loo Countries to their great costes and charges, and therefore no reason why others should have the trade from them. And before the said Company weare priviledged in Germanie, the said Marchantes Adventurers weare at libertie to adventure into all partes within the Straytes and Mediteranium Sea, and also into all partes within the East Seas, and to all partes of the Ocian Seas, which they maie not do now by meanes of new corporations to the Company of New trades, the Company of Eastland Marchantes, and to the Company of Trypolie, &c., and therefore no reason why they should be cutt of from the trade of Germanye, which countrie was alwaies not onely cheeflye fedd with comodyties from them, but also with vent of the comodyties of the said countrie unto them as aforesaid. And whereas it was said that the Navye whould be better maynteyned by trade further of then Midlebroughe, that is in lyke case trew, yf the said trade be not mannaged in good order; but the Marchauntes Adventurers, even to and for Midlebroughe maynteyneth as good shipps as the trade at Stoade, for they sett no shipps on worck for that place but of 1500 toon at the least, and well appoynted. And whereas it was said that the clothes did beare a better price at Stoade then at Midlebroughe, it maie be well proved that by the experience of this yeare passed

clothes hath been as well sold at Midlebroughe as at Stoade ; but it is not the great pryce of cloth that is either good for her Ma^tie^ in the customes, or for the Common Wealth to sett people on worck, for the higher the price of cloth the fewer is sold, as by experience appeareth ; for synce our clothes hath borne these great prices there is much more cloth made in Germanie then there was before. And whereas the Marchaunts Adventurers hath given thoir generall opinion, that so farr fourth as her Ma^ties^ Councell shall back them, that no trade where they be priviledged be used but to the mart towne where theye sell themselves, yet it maie be doubted, yf Thearle of Cumberland's lycense do contynew, that it maie fall out otherwyse, whereof a reason or two I have thought good to sett downe, althoughe there maie be objected many others. For yf the Merchaunt be discouraged, as needs he must yf when he have bought his clothe he knoweth not at what rate he shall passe it in the Custom House, but shall stand for the same at another man's devotion, and so to be driven to paie more then he shall well knowe to gayne by the sayle thereof, will make men to pause and not to be hastie to buy anie cloth at all. In lyke cases the prices of course clothes being by this meanes advaunced, and thereby the great quantitie of the same sort of cloth be made in Germanye, then the lesse must needs be shipped out of England. Even so in lyke case maie be imagined when marchaunts shall without cause stand at the devotion of their enymie, whether there goods shall be turmoyled by opening of their packs, themselves wrongfullie put into the Exchequer, as late hath been experymented, which is imagined not to [be] don without the practise of the deputie of the said Earle in the Custom-howse, who is knowne to be a verie enymie to honest men and those which dealeth uprightlie ; and a great friend to those which by all meanes practiseth to deceave the Company of their imposytions. And forasmuch as the said deputie, and others his companyons, would willinglie even now shipp their goods to Stoade, notwithstanding the great daunger there, it maie be imagined that they have some secreete doinges with some of the Haunse Townes, and the rather for that ever synce the Styllyard was put downe they have used dyvers greate practises to hinder the quiet and settled trade of the Marchaunts Adventurers, wherby the said Haunses have so obstynately contended : whereas otherwyse, before this theye would have sought to her Ma^tie^ for an ende of these trobles, wrongfullie surmised by the said Haunses, practysers to the greate hurt of the Marchaunt Adventurer. And thus, with prayer for the

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long contynewance of your Honnour amongest us, in most humble sorte, I take my leave. London, this 6th of March, 1601.

Your Lp's. most humble at commaunde,

CHRISTOPHER HODDESDONN." *

At this period of his life it would seem that Christopher Hudson signed his name as above, Hoddesdonn. Lord Ellesmere, in the endorsement on the back of the letter, drops the final *n*, and designates him as "Mr. Hoddesdon, Governor of the Merchant Venturers."

We have seen that apart from his original powers of mind, Christopher Hudson undoubtedly owed his success in life to the knowledge and experience which he had gained in the service of the Muscovy or Russia Company; with which corporation, moreover, he continued to identify himself, by taking an active part in its consultations, up to the time when our information concerning him ceases. The date of his death is unknown.

Having communicated the principal portion of the information which has been obtained respecting the Hudson family and the Muscovy Company, it now becomes desirable to consider the bearing of the same upon the life and character of Henry Hudson, the navigator.

Many of the observations and facts contained in the preceding pages may have appeared to be wanting in importance, or in immediate connection with our subject. But in attempting to present an account of the several members of the Hudson family, and of their intimate relations with the Muscovy Company, it is of the greatest importance to retain every item which can shed a ray of light, even in the most indirect way, upon the exceedingly obscure matter under discussion. As it is, the two following conclusions seem to be fairly warranted:

1st. That Henry Hudson, who discovered Delaware Bay and the Hudson River in 1609, was the descendant, probably the grandson, of Henry Hudson, the elder, who died while holding the office of Alderman, in the city of London, in the year 1555.

2d. That Henry Hudson, the aforesaid discoverer, received his

* *Egerton Papers*, *Camden Soc. Pub.*, London, pp. 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340.

early training, and imbibed the ideas which controlled the purposes of his after life, under the fostering care of the great corporation which his relatives had helped to found and afterwards to maintain.

There is little room for doubting that Henry Hudson was trained up in the Muscovy Company's employ. From the 7th section of Captain Carlile's argument, to be found at page 39, it is evident that the children and relatives of the influential members of that company were frequently in its employ. It is also apparent from various documents preserved in Hakluyt's first volume, that after the firm establishment of its trade with Russia, the Muscovy Company employed two classes of boys, who were bound, in accordance with the custom of that period, apprentices for a term of years.

One class was composed of lads,* who, having received at the company's expense a good elementary education, were afterwards sent out to Russia to keep accounts, and to buy and sell goods, under the direction of the chief agents. Some of the most intelligent were sent "abroad into the notable cities of the countrey for understanding and knowledge," † and profiting by their opportunities, became valuable assistants in extending the trade, eventually attaining important positions ‡ in this, or in kindred companies; a few even reaching high official stations as ambassadors and statesmen.

Of this class Sir Jerome Horsey and Christopher Hudson were conspicuous examples.

* See Hakluyt, I, 308. [May 5th, 1560.] "We send you Nicholas Chancelour to remaine there, who is our apprentice for yeeres; our minde is hee should be set about such businesse as he is most fit for; he hath been kept at writing schoole long; he hath his Algorisme, and hath understanding of keeping of bookes of reckoninge."

† The following occurs in the Company's letter to the agents in Russia, written in the spring of 1560, and preserved in Hakluyt, I, p. 299: "We doe send you in these ships ten yong men that be bound Prentises to the Companie, whom we will you to appoynt euery of them as you shall there finde most apt and meete, some to keepe accompts, some to buy and sell by your order and Commission, and some to send abroad into the notable Cities of the Countrey for understanding and knowledge. And we will you send us aduertisement from time to time as well of the demeanours of our Prentises which we doe send now, as also of such other as bee already there with you. And if you finde any of them remiss, negligent, or otherwise misuse themselues and will not be ruled, that then you doe send him home, and the cause why."

‡ See Hakluyt, I, 307.

The other class comprised young men, also of influential connections, whose spirit of adventure and love for the sea induced their friends to place them as apprentices on board the Company's vessels to learn the art of navigation. This fact is thus referred to in the rare tract entitled *The Trades Increase*, printed at London in the year 1615: "The fleet that went ordinarily thitherward [to Russia] entertained three or four novices in a ship, and so bred them up seamen, which might make up the whole happily some foure-score men yearly, * * then there were some five hundred mariners and sailors employed withal." * The same authority informs us that originally seventeen ships of great burthen were yearly sent to Muscovy, and we know from Christopher Hudson's letter to the Emperor of Russia, that a fleet of thirteen armed ships belonging to the Company were sent to the Narve in 1570.

It was thus Captain Thomas Hudson, William Burrough, Arthur Pet and Charles Jackman acquired experience and laid the foundations of their future success. What more natural than that Henry Hudson, whose family connections were foremost in the management of the Muscovy Company's affairs, should be permitted in like manner to derive every advantage which such a school could afford to one emulous of success as a navigator? This theory affords a clue to the origin of the great motives which controlled Hudson throughout his later career. We are substantially told by a "cloud of witnesses" that the discovery of a north-eastern or north-western passage to China and the East Indies was the darling object of Hudson's ambition: that in this all-absorbing thought lay the secret of his remarkable voyages and valuable discoveries. Was it not for the attainment of this very end that the Muscovy or Russia Company was organized?

Educated with a view to his future life, and bred in the Company's service, cruising in its ships, and gaining knowledge from the most skilful Captains, his mind was from earliest youth familiar with the

* "*The Trades Increase*, London, printed by Nicholas Okes, and are to be sold by Walter Burre, 1615, 4°, containing 62 pages." *Harleian Miscellany*, vol. III, p. 300.

The title of this tract was probably taken from the name of the great ship built by the East India Company, and christened by King James I, on the 30th Dec., 1609.

aims and objects of this powerful commercial body. What wonder that the lessons of early boyhood sank deep into Hudson's mind ; or that the desire to solve what he had been taught to consider the great problem of his age, should afterwards become the master-passion of his maturer years ?

It is likewise to be noted, that of the four voyages of Henry Hudson, of which we know any thing, the first two were made for the Muscovy Company, while the fourth and last was set on foot by Sir Thomas Smith, at that time Chief Governor of the Muscovy Company.*

That Henry Hudson belonged to a prominent family, was peculiarly esteemed by the Muscovy Company, and had interest at court, is evident from the fact that vessels were sent out to search for him in 1612 by order of Henry, Prince of Wales, and the Russia Company.† His personal influence is further illustrated by the remark of Prickett,‡ who says, that in his last voyage, Hudson promised on his return home to have Henrie Green made one of the Prince's Guard.

It is quite evident that Captain John Smith's acquaintance with Henry Hudson commenced before the year 1607, which, as we have seen, is the earliest period in which mention is made of Hudson by Purchas. Van Meteren, the Dutch consul resident in London, who knew Hudson well, speaks of the friendship existing between Hudson and Captain John Smith prior to the former's voyage in 1609.§ Now Smith was in London in 1604, linking his fortunes with those of Bartholomew Gosnold, Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, Richard Hakluyt, Ralegh Gilbert, Edward Maria Wingfield and

* See *Purchas His Pilgrimage*, p. 817. This is the first time that this fact has been noticed by investigators of the life of Hudson. Sir Thomas Smith, Sir Dudley Digges, and Master John Wostenholme, are specially mentioned by Purchas as furtherers of this voyage. That Smith was then governor of the Muscovy Company may be seen from Purchas, III, 699, 711, 713, 716, 728, 731. For names of his other employers, see *Hakluyt Soc. Pub.*, 1860, p. 255.

† See 2d Latin edition of *The Hudson Tract*, published at Amsterdam, by Hessel Gerritsz. For translation see *Hakluyt Soc. Pub.*, 1860.

‡ *Larger Discourse*, Purchas, III, 601.

§ Van Meteren's *Historie der Nederlanderen*, Hague, 1614. For translation see *Hakluyt Soc. Pub.*, 1860, p. 148.

others. Dec. 19th, 1606,* he set sail from Blackwall, and did not return to England until three years later. It is probable that Hudson and Smith were thrown together in London during the first interval referred to, on account of their similar tastes and mutual acquaintances. For it is a remarkable fact that many of the prominent members and captains of the Muscovy Company were also interested in the settlement of Virginia. Among these were Sir Thomas Smith, Sir Dudley Digges, Captain Thomas Button, John Merrick, Richard Chamberlayne, Richard Staper, Arthur Pet, Thomas Gerrard, William Barnes, and John Hudson.† The two latter were undoubtedly connections of Henry Hudson. William Barnes, (afterwards a Baronet), was the son of Sir George Barnes; and this John Hudson seems to be the son of Henry Hudson the elder. For we learn from several letters‡ that John Hudson (the son of Henry Hudson, the elder, founder and first assistant of the Muscovy Company) was alive as late as 1618. Admiral Sir William Monson,§ who speaks in his *Naval Tracts* in high terms of Hudson, was also one of the Adventurers to Virginia. Another of Henry Hudson's friends, Richard Hakluyt, prebendary of Westminster, was the chief promoter of the petition addressed to King James in the year 1606, praying that he would grant patents for the colonization of Virginia. It is from Hakluyt's famous *Voyages* that we have learned so much respecting the earlier members of the Hudson family. Hudson evinced his esteem for Hakluyt as early as 1607, when he named a promontory, which he had discovered, after him. Hakluyt‖ was also the intimate of Sir Francis Walsingham, Sir Robert Cecil, the Lord High Admiral Howard, Sir Philip Sidney, Sir Francis Drake, and many other distinguished men.

We know that in 1601, Christopher Hudson was governor of the Merchant Adventurers, which at that time, according to contemporary

* Stith's *Hist. Virginia*, Book II, p. 44.

† Stith's *Hist. Virginia*, App., pp. 9–14. J. Hudson's name is here spelled Hodgson.

‡ *Calendars of State Papers*, Domestic Series, Reign of James I.

§ Sir William Monson's *Naval Tracts*, Book IV. Churchill's *Voyages*, Vol. 3d, pp. 386, 387.

‖ For sketch of Hakluyt, see appendix.

testimony, included more than half of all the wealthy traders of London, York, Norwich, Exeter, Ipswich, Newcastle, Hull, and the other chief commercial towns. It is possible that about this period, for a short interval, Henry Hudson may have been a captain in this corporation's employ.

The English East India Company, however, engaged with the Muscovy Company in dispatching Henry Hudson on his last voyage to the North in 1610.* Sir Thomas Smith, already referred to as being the governor of the Muscovy Company, was at the same time governor of the East India Company, and this was only one of a number of instances in which the two companies, while under his guidance, united in a common enterprise. *The Trades Increase* alludes to the close connection existing between the two associations,† and Purchas confirms this view. At the close of the sixteenth century, owing to the rival enterprise of the Dutch, the trade with Russia had greatly diminished, and the Muscovy Company again turned its attention more especially to the accomplishment of the object (the discovery of a northern passage to India) which it was originally organized to promote. Many of its most influential members were the originators of the East India Company (in 1600),‡ and it was most natural that the two bodies should frequently unite in sending out expeditions to make discoveries mutually beneficial.

Thus a skilful and experienced navigator in the service of one powerful corporation would be almost equally well known to the members of contemporary associations. In this way Henry Hudson, in addition to the fame acquired by his remarkable discoveries, would also possess a "national reputation" as a gallant and successful commander in the Muscovy Company's employ; owing to the countless ramifications of these great commercial bodies, whose members were to be found in every city throughout the kingdom.

* See Charter granted to the Merchants Discoverers of the North West Passage, July 26th, 1612. *Hakluyt Soc. Pub.*, London, 1860, p. 255.

† *The Trades Increase*, London, 1615. Harl. Misc., vol. III, pp. 291, 292.

‡ In December 1614, Sir Thomas Smith, governor of the East India Company, reminded *the Court of Committees* of that corporation, "that three yeares since this Coumpanie did aduenture £300, p. annum for three yeares towardes the discoury of the Northwest passage." See Rundall's *Voyages to the North-West, Hakluyt Soc. Pub.*, London, 1849, page 96.

The position of his kinsman Christopher Hudson, as the head of the Merchant Adventurers, who had long maintained most intimate relations with Germany and the Netherlands, may have been among the earliest means of attracting towards Henry Hudson the attention of the Dutch, whose efforts had also of late been turned to the discovery of a shorter passage to India by the north. His subsequent brilliant services and voyages to the north would strengthen in the minds of the leading merchants and capitalists of Holland, the conviction that Henry Hudson possessed the courage, experience and genius requisite to aid them in developing and carrying into execution plans which might lead to the realization of their hopes.

The first *recorded* voyage made by Henry Hudson was undertaken for the Muscovy or Russia Company. Departing from Gravesend the first of May, 1607, with the intention of sailing straight across the north pole, by the north of what is now called Greenland, Hudson found that this land stretched further to the eastward than he had anticipated, and that a wall of ice, along which he coasted, extended from Greenland to Spitzbergen. Forced to relinquish the hope of finding a passage in this direction, he once more attempted the entrance of Davis's Straits by the north of Greenland. This design was also frustrated, and he apparently renewed the attempt in a lower latitude and nearer Greenland on his homeward voyage.* In this cruise Hudson attained a higher degree of latitude than any previous navigator. He also remarked the changing colour of the sea in the neighbourhood of Spitzbergen, and first noted the amelioration of the temperature in his northward progress. His observations as to the abundance of whales and "morses" in those waters, by directing attention to that source of profit, laid the foundations of the future prosperity of Spitzbergen. Space will not permit the enumeration of Hudson's other important discoveries in this expedition in 1607. He reached England on his return on the 15th September of that year.

On the 22d of April, 1608, Henry Hudson commenced his second

* See Purchas, III, 530. Also Dr. Asher, in *Hakluyt Soc. Pub.*, 1860, to whom much is due on account of his efforts to identify accurately the precise localities visited by Hudson.

recorded voyage for the Muscovy or Russia Company, with the design of "finding a passage to the East Indies by the north-east." *

He had with him his son, John Hudson, and James Skrutton or Strutton, who had sailed with him the previous year. John Cooke, who had also been one of the crew in 1607, now went in the capacity of boatswain. Robert Juet, of Limehouse, who afterward accompanied him in his two last voyages, and finally basely conspired against him, now first appears upon the scene as second in command and mate. Ludlowe Arnall, or "Arnold Lodlo," as Prickett styles him, destined to share Hudson's tragic fate three years later, also shipped for this cruise, as did Michael Pierce, one of the traitors in the fourth voyage who perished miserably.

The name of *Humfrey Gilby* likewise occurs in the list of sailors preserved in Purchas. Having discovered the intimate relations which existed between Sir Humphrey (or Sir *Humfrey*, as Hakluyt calls him) Gilbert and Christopher Hudson, it is not improbable that the above is one of the many instances of misspelling or misprinting continually met with—both in Hakluyt and Purchas, and that the person referred to was in reality named Humfrey Gilbert, and belonged to the family of the great voyager. This conjecture seems the more reasonable as Sir Humphrey Gilbert is known to have left nine sons.†

On the 3d of June, 1608, Hudson had reached the most northern point of Norway, and on the 11th was in latitude 75° 24′, between Spitzbergen and Nova Zembla. Four days later he records the following curious incident, which affords a glimpse of the love of the marvellous that has distinguished sailors of all ages and of every clime. On the 15th of June he writes: "This morning one of our companie looking over boord saw a *Mermaid*,‡ and calling up some of the companie to see her, one more came up, and by that time shee was come close to the ships side, looking earnestly on the men: a

* Purchas, III, p. 574.

† Prince's *Worthies of Devon.*

‡ A curious print of a mermaid is preserved in De Bry, *Decimæ Tertiæ Partis Americæ Sectio Prima*, page 4, edition of 1634.

little after, a Sea came and overturned her: from the Navill upward, her backe and breasts were like a womans (as they say that saw her), her body as big as one of us; her skin very white; and long haire hanging downe behind, of colour blacke: in her going downe they saw her tayle, which was like the tayle of a Porposse, and speckled like a Macrell. Their names that saw her, were *Thomas Hilles* and *Robert Rayner*." *

It is scarcely necessary to do more than simply refer to Hudson's attempts to pass to the north-east beyond Nova Zembla; to his return southwards along the islands of which the group consists, and to his numerous observations up to the time of his arrival in England. To the concluding passage, however, in Hudson's journal of this voyage, particular attention is due, as it illustrates the remarks previously made, and will also aid us in our enquiries concerning his next voyage. "The *seventh of August*," he says, "I used all diligence to arrive at London, and therefore now I gave my companie a certificate under my hand, of my free and willing returne, without perswasion or force of any one or more of them; *for at my being at Nova Zembla, the sixt of July, voide of hope of a north-east passage* (except by the Vaygats, for which I was not fitted to trie or prove), *I therefore resolved to use all meanes I could to sayle to the north-west;* considering the time and meanes wee had, if the wind should friend us, as in the first part of our voyage it had done, and to make triall of that place called Lumleys Inlet, *and the furious overfall by Captain Davis*, hoping to runne into it an hundred leagues, and to returne as God should enable mee. But now having spent more then halfe the time I had, and gone but the shortest part of the way, by meanes of contrary winds, I thought it my duty to save Victuall, Wages and Tackle, by my speedy returne, and not by foolish rashnesse, the time being wasted, to lay more charge upon the action than necessitie should compell, I arrived at Gravesend the six and twentieth of August, [1608]." †

Henry Hudson's previous discoveries had already rendered him famous, and his safe return from another perilous voyage to the north was hailed in England with deep interest and satisfaction. The

* Purchas, III, p. 575.

† Purchas, III, p. 580.

results of his explorations soon spread to the continent, where they were received with even greater curiosity, and aroused the fears of the Dutch East India Company, then recently established. We are accordingly not surprised to learn from the *Negociations* of President Jeannin, that Hudson was soon called to Holland by the directors of that corporation at Amsterdam.

In order to obtain a clear idea of the reasons for this step, it will be necessary to glance at the connection of the Dutch with the discovery of a northern passage to India.

We have already reviewed the northern discoveries made by our own countrymen, commencing with Richard Chancellor's successful expedition in 1553, and we shall now see how closely they were followed ultimately in their enterprises by the sagacious and energetic Hollanders. As early as 1578 the Dutch were trading with Russia; and Captain Edge testifies that a year or two later, "one John de Whale, a Netherlander, came to the Bay of Saint Nicholas, being drawne thither by the perswasion of some English for their better means of interloping."* Sir Jerome Bowes, who was the ambassador from Queen Elizabeth to the Czar, writing in 1583, says: "The Dutch merchants had intruded themselves to trade into those countreys, notwithstanding a privilege of the sole trade thither was long before granted to the English merchants."†

Indeed, in the month of April of the same year, Captain Carlile had taken occasion to urge as a powerful argument in favor of Gilbert's American enterprise, that the Netherlanders were interfering sadly with the Muscovy Company's Russian trade.

Having secured to themselves influence at the court of Moscow, and thus gained a foothold in Russia, the Dutch, still following the example of the English, began to turn their attention to the rich countries lying far to the eastward, and likewise became interested in attempts to discover a short northern passage to China, and the Indian seas.

* Purchas, III, p. 464.

† Hakluyt, I, p. 459.

Meanwhile the commerce with Russia was immensely increased, and the Netherlanders had become such powerful rivals as almost to supplant and exclude the English.* Houtman, the brewer's son, also, having doubled the Cape of Good Hope, returned to Amsterdam in 1597, bringing with him the rarest products of the east. Thus the foundations of the great Indian trade were finally laid, and companies sprang into existence all over Holland, eager to participate in the almost fabulous profits accruing from this new source of wealth.

The discontent produced by the unequal fortunes attending the efforts of rival associations, soon awakened a natural solicitude in the minds of thoughtful men. Olden Barneveldt, advocate of Holland, and leader of the Arminian party, to which Grotius himself belonged, comprehending the situation at a glance, determined to calm the tumult, while at the same time he increased the power of himself and his friends, by combining the hitherto opposing forces under one government with common interests. Although this plan met with stout resistance from some of the more successful adventurers, it was finally adopted by the States-General; and two years after the English East India Company was incorporated, viz. : in 1602, the Republic of Holland established the Dutch East India Company.

The rapid growth and ample resources of the company may be estimated by the fact, that six years after its organization, it had in its service, besides smaller vessels, forty large ships, "armed with six hundred pieces of cannon, and manned by five thousand sailors." † Prior to this, it is known to have returned to its shareholders three-fourths of their invested capital, in the course of a single year. ‡

Although the charter only expressly conferred upon the company the privilege of trading with India by the Cape of Good Hope and the Straits of Magellan, it is evident that soon after the company was created, the expediency of attempting to find a passage by the north-east was freely discussed. In fact, the fears of many, lest the dis-

* Harleian Misc.

† Murphy's *Hudson in Holland.*

‡ Brodhead's *Hist. N. Y.*, I, 23

covery of a short northern route by rivals, should suddenly deprive them of their lucrative trade with the east, found expression as early as the 7th of August, 1603, in a formal determination to prevent such a result by every means in their power. *

It is, accordingly, easy to picture the consternation produced by the accounts of Hudson's return from a second remarkable voyage; and we have no difficulty in appreciating the reasons which governed the Amsterdam Directors of the Dutch East India Company, in sending a pressing invitation to the great navigator to visit Holland and confer with them in relation to undertaking, in their service, another northern expedition.

Hudson left England in the winter of 1608–9. The exact period of his arrival in Holland is uncertain, as are also the causes which induced him to leave the Muscovy Company's employ, and to accept the offers of the Dutch. It could scarcely have been the hope of pecuniary reward, which induced Hudson to listen to the overtures of the Netherlanders, for the sum which he was to receive for his hazardous services was extremely meagre. † Our acquaintance with his character, and our knowledge of his purposes and plans, must also preclude this idea, and convince us that it was the desire to crown the labors of his life with the triumphant discovery of a northern passage to India, which controlled Hudson's action in this matter.

Immediately after his arrival in Amsterdam, Hudson held several interviews with the resident directors of the Dutch East India Company; and laid before them the results of his extensive experience in the far north. Having revealed his belief in an open polar sea, and the consequent existence of a passage that way to India, he proceeded to illustrate his theory by arguments drawn from the wide range of personal observations. His views were fully coincided in by the Rev. Peter Plantius, ‡ whose great attainments as a geographical scholar, lent additional weight to the cogent reasoning of Hudson.

* *Register der Resolutien van de Seventiene*, cited by Mr. Murphy.

† See *Dutch E. I. Co's contract with Hudson.* Murphy's *Hudson in Holland*, pp. 34, 35, 36.

‡ Called the "Hakluyt of the Netherlands."

Impressed by the whole bearing of the man, and aroused by representations so forcibly and intelligently conveyed, the Amsterdam directors became eager to engage the services of the distinguished seaman. Reflecting however, that they could not bind the whole company, and that the power of sending out ships was vested in the Council of Seventeen, whose next meeting would be held too late to enable a vessel to sail that year with any chance of success, they felt obliged to confess that they were unprepared to engage at once in an expedition, and to rest content with a promise from Hudson to return to Amsterdam the following year.

No sooner were these negociations terminated, than advances were made to Hudson by Isaac Le Maire, an eminent merchant of Amsterdam, born in Tournay in Hainault, who had formerly been a director, but was now opposed to the Dutch East India Company, and desired to enlist Hudson in the service of the King of France. Hudson apparently conversed freely concerning his plans and aspirations with Le Maire, who communicated them with a strong endorsement to President Jeannin, one of Henry the Fourth's ambassadors at The Hague, specially charged by the king to promote the establishment of a French East India Company. Rumors of the interview with Le Maire soon reached the ears of the Amsterdam directors, who, having written to the other Chambers, immediately recalled Hudson, and entered into a formal contract with him to conduct a vessel forthwith to the north; so that when Le Maire, having gained Henry's consent, and being provided with four thousand crowns for the purpose, applied to Hudson to undertake a voyage * for the French monarch, he found the discoverer already pledged to the Dutch East India Company.

A copy of the contract between Hudson and the Chamber of Amsterdam was discovered a few years since by Mr. Murphy, in the royal Archives at The Hague, appended to a manuscript history of the corporation, prepared by Mr. P. Van Dam, who was the company's Counsel, from 1652 to 1706. From this we learn, that the original was signed on the 8th of January, 1609, and that the services of an

* *Nég. du Prés. Jeannin*, Lettre du 25 Janvier 1609. *Ibid.* Lettre du roi du vingt-huitième Février, 1609, quoted by Mr. Murphy. An English translation of Jeannin's letter is published in the *Hakluyt Soc. Pub.*, 1860, pp. 244–254.

interpreter were required to aid Hudson in his communications with the Company.

The contract having been completed, the instructions for the voyage were prepared by the Amsterdam Chamber, whose action was sanctioned by the Council of Seventeen, on the 25th of March.*

In response to a resolution of that body, passed at their next meeting,† copies of both documents were afterwards sent to each of the several Chambers. It clearly appears from the authentic copy of the contract, and the abstract of the instructions preserved by Mr. Van Dam, that the directors agreed to furnish a small vessel of about sixty tons, well provisioned and manned, in which Hudson should sail about the first of April, "to search for a passage by the North, around by the north side of Nova Zembla;" and he was to continue thus along that parallel until he should "be able to sail southward to the latitude of sixty degrees."‡ "He was further ordered by his instructions, to think of discovering no other routes or passages, except the route around by the north and north-east above Nova Zembla; with this additional proviso, that if it could not be accomplished at that time, another route would be the subject of further consideration for another voyage."§

The sum of $320 was to be paid to Hudson for his outfit, and for the support of his wife and children, and in case he lost his life, the directors were to give his widow $80! Should he find "the passage good and suitable for the company to use," the directors declared they would reward Hudson "for his dangers, trouble and knowledge, in their discretion, with which the before mentioned Hudson is content."

Having thus completed his preliminary arrangements with the Dutch E. I. Company, Hudson spent the intervening time before his

* *Rs. van der Seventien*, March 25, 1609, cited by Mr. Murphy.

† For an interesting account of the internal organization of the company, see *Henry Hudson in Holland*, p. 21.

‡ Murphy, pp. 34, 35. See D. E. I. Co.'s contract with Hudson.

§ *Ibid*, p. 39, Mr. Van Dam's abstract of instructions.

departure, in grave consultation with the Directors, and with such other leading men as were competent to advise with him concerning his contemplated voyage. Pre-eminent among the latter stood the Belgian emigrant, Peter Plantius, minister of the Reformed Church in Amsterdam, whose varied knowledge of maritime affairs, was the result of an unwearying spirit of philosophical investigation. Born in Flanders, and compelled to seek refuge from persecution in Holland, Plantius had early engaged with Usselincx in endeavouring to establish a *West* India Company, and soon became widely known as one of the leaders of the Calvinistic or Orange party. He was an ardent believer, however, in the practicability of reaching India by the north-east, and accordingly, took a deep interest * in Hudson's plans; as he had done in those of Barentson fifteen years earlier. †

Purchas tells us that he found among Hakluyt's papers, the translations of two documents loaned by Plantius to Hudson. The first contained *memoranda* made by Barentson in the course of his voyage in 1595. At the top of the sheet was the following note by Hudson: "This was written by William Barentson in a loose paper which was lent mee, by the Rev. Peter Plantius, in Amsterdam, March the seven and twentieth, 1609." ‡ The other document was thus prefaced: "A Treatise of Iver Boty, a Gronlander, translated out of the Norsh language into High Dutch, in the yeere 1560, and after, out of High Dutch into Low Dutch, by William Barentson, of Amsterdam, who was chiefe pilot aforesaid. The same copie in High Dutch is in the hands of Jodocus Hondius, which I have seene. And this was translated out of Low Dutch by Master William Stere, marchant, in the yeere 1608, for the vse of me, Henrie Hudson. William Barentson's Booke is in the hands of Master Peter Plantivs, who lent the same vnto me." §

Jodocus Hondius, mentioned above, had placed Hudson under many obligations. Like his friend Plantius, he was of Flemish ex-

* Van Meteren. *Henry Hudson in Holland. Hudson the Navigator.*

† Purchas, III, p. 478, ed. of 1625. De Veer's Voyages. *Hakluyt Soc. Pub.* 1853, p. 41. Biogr. Univ.

‡ Purchas, III, p. 518.

§ Purchas, III, p. 518.

traction, having been born in Ghent, in 1563. Passing over to England at an early age, during the troubles in the Low Countries, he there engraved portraits of Queen Elizabeth, Sir Francis Drake, and Thomas Cavendish, the famous navigator. Whether he became acquainted with Hudson at that period of his life, does not appear. Having afterwards removed to Amsterdam, he engaged extensively in the business of map making, and gained much applause on account of the beauty and comparative accuracy of his work, as well as for the extent of his geographical acquirements. He was the adviser and interpreter of Hudson in the latter's communications with the Dutch E. I. Company, and we find that he afterwards signed the Contract as a witness.

Hudson's intercourse with Plantius and Hondius was of such a confidential character, that he apparently revealed to these friends his most cherished purposes and plans. He also produced certain letters and maps "which his friend, Captain John Smith, had sent him from Virginia, and by which he informed him that there was a sea leading into the Western ocean, by the north of the southern English colony."* These authorities were hailed with interest by Plantius, who brought forward at this stage of the conference, the log books of George Waymouth, who had visited the mouth of Hudson's Straits several years before, in the employ of the English East India Company, and had also sailed as far south as latitude 41° 30′ north.†

After collating Smith's accounts with the results of Waymouth's, and, probably, Gosnold's‡ voyages, Hudson was of the opinion that there was also ample opportunity for discovery between the Chesapeake bay and the extreme southern point, visited by the two explorers.§ He thought, moreover, that the road through the

* *Van Meteren's Historie Der Nederlanden.* Hague, 1614, Fol. 629, a. Hakluyt Soc. Pub. 1860, p, 148.

† 2d Latin ed., Hudson Tract, Amsterdam, 1613. *Hudson in Holland. Hudson the Navigator.* Rundall's *Voyages to the North West.* Hakluyt Soc. Pub. 1849.

‡ See Juet's Journal of the 3d voyage, Purchas, III, p. 588, ed. of 1625.

§ Compare what *Strachey's Virginia* says of Argal, in 1610. Hakluyt Soc. Pub., 1849, 42, 43, also Purchas IV, 1762.

"Narrows," mentioned by Waymouth, might lead to India. The latter opinion was however stoutly opposed by Plantius.

We shall presently discover the comparative influence of these various views upon the future movements of the discoverer.

On Saturday, the fourth of April 1609,* Henry Hudson set sail from Amsterdam, and 'by twelve of the clocke' on Monday, having passed the Texel, was two leagues off the land. His vessel, the *Half Moon*, a yacht of about eighty tons burden, was manned by a motly crew of sixteen or eighteen† English and Dutch sailors. His mate was likewise a Netherlander. Robert Juet, who had sailed in that capacity the preceding year, now acted as Captain's clerk, and fortunately for posterity, also kept the curious Journal of the voyage, which is still preserved in Purchas's third volume.‡

It is certainly greatly to be deplored that Hudson's own Journal, which De Laet had before him when he wrote the "Nieuwe Werelt," § has entirely disappeared, together with such other documents as Hudson on his return may have forwarded to the Dutch East India Company.‖ By the loss of these invaluable manuscripts, we are reduced to the necessity of gleaning the particulars of this voyage from the statements of others, not thoroughly competent to judge of the motives which actuated Hudson at the various stages of his progress.

As we have seen, Hudson left Holland with the intention of searching "for a passage by the North, around by the North side of Nova Zembla." Van Meteren tells us, that having doubled the Cape of Norway¶ the 5th of May, he "directed his course along the

* New Style.

† There is a doubt as to the exact number. Lambrechsten says 16 men. Van Meteren first speaks of a 'crew of eighteen or twenty hands;' but he afterwards tells us that Hudson (in making proposals to the D. E. I. Company for another voyage), wished their number raised to twenty.

‡ John Coleman, also one of Hudson's former companions, is the only other Englishman whose name is mentioned as having been on board the *Half Moon*.

§ Printed in 1625.

‖ Mr Murphy was unable to discover any traces of these papers in Holland.

¶ The North Cape. Juet's Journal, Purchas, III, p. 580.

northern coasts towards Nova Zembla; but he there found the sea as full of ice as he had found it the preceding year, so that he lost the hope of effecting anything during the season. This circumstance, and the cold which some of his men who had been in the East Indies could not bear, caused quarrels among the crew, they being partly English, and partly Dutch; upon which the captain, Henry Hudson, laid before them two propositions; the first of these was, to go to the coast of America, to the latitude of 40°." This idea had been suggested by Captain John Smith's maps and letters. "The other proposition was, to direct their search to Davis's Straits." * The latter was the plan which Hudson had entertained, but eventually abandoned, when in a somewhat similar position, on the 6th of July, 1608.

As his instructions were to retrace his steps, and return to Amsterdam in case of a failure to find a passage to the North East, Hudson would have been entirely justified in relinquishing further effort, now that he found himself with a mutinous crew, utterly baffled by the ice in his endeavours to discover an opening in that direction to the Celestial Empire. His anxiety to accomplish something worthy of his reputation, however, would not suffer him to adopt such a course. He perhaps argued that it had not occurred to the Directors, that insurmountable obstacles might present themselves, before his vessel fairly reached Nova Zembla; and he may accordingly have concluded that in his present situation, he possessed discretionary power. On the other hand, we are distinctly told by Mr Van Dam, that "having found the sea there * * * as full of ice as it was in the previous years," Hudson "determined *contrary to his instructions*, to seek another route." † Whatever may have been his reasoning, we know that fortunately he did assume the responsibility of sailing in the opposite direction.

On the 14th of May, having gained the consent of his officers and crew, Hudson shaped his course towards the setting sun, hoping to

* Van Meteren's Hist. der Neder. The Hague, 1614. Fol. 629, a. Hakluyt Soc. Pub., 1860, pp. 147-149.

† MS. History of the D. E. I. Company, by Mr P. Van Dam, in the Archives at the Hague. Passage translated by Mr Murphy, *Hudson in Holland*, p. 33.

discover an uninterrupted passage to India, in the unexplored regions lying to the north of the infant Colony of Virginia.*

A fortnight later, he had replenished his water casks at Stromo, one of the Faroe group, and was steering away south-west in hopes of seeing Busse Island, which one of Frobisher's ships had discovered thirty years before. Foiled in this attempt, he still pursued his voyage with unfaltering courage, for nearly a month, although beset by a succession of fierce gales, and on the second of July, was at soundings off the grand bank of Newfoundland, with foremast gone and sails badly rent. Falling in next day with "a great fleet of Frenchmen which lay fishing on the banke," he "spake with none of them;" but soon after, when becalmed, he allowed his own company to "try" for cod.

On the twelfth, the American shores gladdened the sight of the expectant mariner, and on the eighteenth, Hudson anchored in a safe and commodious harbor on the coast of Maine.†

Here the lawless character of the crew displayed itself in a wanton attack upon a party of Indians, who had made their appearance in a couple of French shallops. Distressed and alarmed by the occurrence, Hudson once more stood out to sea, and did not approach the land until the third of August, when he sent five men ashore, who returned laden with rose trees and goodly grapes. Hearing the voices of men calling, the next morning, he again sent a boat's crew from the ship, thinking there "had been some Christians left on the land." The sailors found none but "Savages," who manifested, however, great delight on their approach. Supposing that the point of land which he now saw to the southward, was the same headland which Gosnold in 1602, had named "Cape Cod," he held on his way and two weeks afterward found himself off King James' River in Virginia.

Resisting the temptation to visit his friend Smith, whom he would have found preparing to return to England, Henry Hudson, still intent upon the great object of his search, once more altered the

* Van Meteren is the only authority for the important events which took place between the 5th and 14th of May. Juet is purposely silent.

† Probably Penobscot Bay.

course of the yacht, and steering northward, on Friday, the twenty-eighth day of August, 1609, discovered the great bay now called Delaware.

At noon, having passed the lower cape, the shores were descried stretching away north-west,* while land was also seen towards the north-east, "which Hudson at first took to be an island, but it proved to be the main land and the second point † of the bay." ‡ The remainder of the day was spent in sounding the waters, which were in some parts filled with shoals, as at the present time, so that the *Half Moon*, though of light draught, struck upon the hidden sands. "Hee that will throughly Discover this great Bay," says Juet, "must have a small Pinnasse that must draw but four or five foote water, to sound before him."

At sunset, the master anchored his little vessel "in eight fathomes water," and found a tide running from the north-west: "and it riseth one fathome, and floweth South-South-east." §

"From the strength of the current that set out and caused the accumulation of sands," he "suspected that a large river discharged into the bay." ‖

In the course of the night, the weather, which had been intensely warm all day, suddenly changed. A passing storm dispelled the heat, while the breeze blowing from the land refreshed the weary men with the perfumes of sweet shrubs and summer flowers. At early dawn the explorations were renewed, and Hudson stood towards the "norther land," where he again "strooke ground" with

* Juet's Journal, Purchas III, p. 590.

† Cape May.

‡ De Laet's Nieuwe Werelt. fol. Amsterdam, 1625, Book III, Chap. 7. Hazard's Annals, p. 3. N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll. Vol. I, N. S., p. 290.

§ Juet's Journal, Purchas, III, 590. Van der Donck speaking of the South River, or Delaware, says: This is the place where the ship *Half Moon* first took possession." Dr O'Callaghan, in his Hist. of New Netherland, Vol. I, p. 34, quotes the Beschryving Van Nieuw Nederlandt, as above, and also says: "Here he [Hudson], anchored the *Half Moon* in eight fathom water, and took possession, it is said, of the country."

‖ De Laet's Nieuwe Werelt.

his rudder. Convinced that the road to China did not lie that way, he hastened to emerge from the Delaware, in search of new channels through which he might pass quickly to India, the goal of his wishes. Imbued with this idea, he continued his voyage along the coast of New Jersey, and cast anchor on the 3d of September, within the shelter of what is now Sandy Hook. His subsequent discovery of the river which bears his name, and his ascent to a point in the vicinity of the present city of Albany, are facts too well known to require repetition here.*

On the return voyage Van Meteren informs us, that Hudson and his company held council together, but were of different opinions. "The mate, a Dutchman, advised to winter in Newfoundland, and to search the north-western passage of Davis throughout. This was opposed by Hudson. He was afraid of his mutinous crew, who had sometimes savagely threatened him, and he feared that during the cold season they would entirely consume their provisions, and would then be obliged to return. Many of the crew also were ill and sickly. Nobody however spoke of returning home to Holland, which circumstance made the captain still more suspicious. He proposed therefore to sail to Ireland, and winter there; to which they all agreed. At last they arrived at Dartmouth, in England, the 7th of November, whence they informed their employers, the Directors of the Dutch East India Company, of their voyage. They proposed to them to go out again for a search in the north-west, and that besides the pay, fifteen hundred florins should be laid out for an additional supply of provisions. Hudson also wanted six or seven of his crew exchanged for others, and their number raised to twenty. He was then going to leave Dartmouth on the first of March, so as to be in the north-west towards the end of that month, and there to spend the whole of April, and the first half of May in catching whales and other fish in the neighbourhood of Panar Island;†

* The loss of Hudson's own Journal, in connection with his discovery of Delaware Bay, is indeed irreparable. Our sense of the loss is increased by the remembrance that Hudson's River, Hudson's Strait, and Hudson's Bay, had probably been visited long before Hudson explored them; while it is pretty well established that Delaware Bay had never been visited till he discovered it in 1609.

† Somewhere near the coast of Newfoundland. No such name as Panar Island occurs on old maps. Dr Asher is of the opinion that the island meant is the Ys. de Arena of Ortelius.

thence to sail to the north-west, and there to pass the time till the middle of September, and then return to Holland, along the north-eastern coast of Scotland. Thus this voyage passed off."

"A long time elapsed through contrary winds, before the Company could be informed of the arrival of the ship in England. Then they ordered the ship and crew to return as soon as possible. But when they were going to do so, Henry Hudson and the other Englishmen of the ship were commanded by the Government there not to leave England, but to serve their own country. Many persons thought it rather hard and unfair that these sailors should thus be prevented from laying their accounts and reports before their employers, chiefly as the enterprise in which they had been engaged was such as to benefit navigation in general. These latter events took place in January, 1610." *

After a detention of eight months in England the *Half Moon* † reached Amsterdam in the summer of 1610. In the month of April preceding, her late commander Henry Hudson,‡ once more sailed under English auspices in search of a north-west passage. From this voyage he was destined never to return. Again cursed with a wicked and mutinous company, he encountered hardships and sufferings from their criminal misconduct, which the artful inventions of the survivors skilfully concealed. Though he had divided even with tears his last bread with his men, yet on midsummer's day, 1611, his ungrateful crew, thrusting him into a frail boat, with his son,§ and several sick sailors, cut him adrift, to perish amid the arctic winds and waves of the "great waste of waters," which bearing his name, "is his tomb and his monument." ‖

* Van Meteren, Historie der Nederlanden. Hague, 1614, Folio 629, a. For English translation see Hakluyt Soc. Pub., 1860, pp. 151-153.

† On the 6th of March, 1615, she was finally wrecked and lost on the Island of Mauritius. Brodhead, I, 43.

‡ For names of his employers, see Hakluyt Soc. Pub., 1860. p. 255.

§ For account of his son, John Hudson, see *Appendix* I.

‖ Bancroft, II. pp. 265-275, 19th edition. The eloquent and exact historian of the United States gives a graphic sketch of Hudson's career, in his second volume. Mr Brodhead, in his *History of New York*, and Dr O'Callaghan, in his *History of New Netherland*, also furnish exceedingly interesting accounts of Hudson's life and voyages.

Two centuries and a half have elapsed since Delaware's discoverer ended his heroic labors and met his tragic fate; yet to-day three nationalities linger with pleasure over the incidents of his romantic career, and find subjects of common pride in the record of his brilliant explorations.



APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

I.

Henry Hudson's Descendants.

It is apparent from the contract between the Dutch East India Company and Henry Hudson that he had several children besides the "only son" so often referred to by writers during the last two hundred years. This son, who accompanied his father in the two voyages to the North in the years 1607 and 1608, was with him, perhaps, in 1609, when he made his great discoveries in this part of the New World, and finally perished with him in his last voyage in 1611. His full name was John Hudson, having probably been named after John Hudson, son of Henry Hudson the elder, and in the Journal of the Voyage to the North, in 1607, by Henry Hudson and John Playse, he is described as "a Boy,"* while in Hudson's own Journal of the second voyage, in 1608, he is mentioned as one of the crew, having apparently at that time attained to the full dignity of a seaman.† Of the other children, of whose existence even the world had been unaware, until the very recent discovery of the East India Company's contract, we know nothing. It is possible that some of their descendants are still to be found.

* Purchas III, 567, ed. of 1625.

† Purchas III, p. 574 ed. of 1625, Dr Asher in a foot-note (p. 122, Hakluyt Soc. Pub.. 1860), says: "Several works on Arctic discovery assert that this John Hudson was the *son* of the great navigator. This is merely a conjecture, though not an unlikely one. It rests upon the fact that John was a *boy* when he lost his life with his supposed father." From what is said above it would appear that John Hudson was not a *boy* when he lost his life. As to his having been the son of Henry Hudson there can be no doubt, for Purchas himself (Vol. V, p. 818, 22nd line, ed. of 1626) declares that such was the fact.

Up to this time, excepting the imaginary description in which the humorous Mr. Knickerbocker indulges in his veracious history *—no writer alludes to the personal appearance of Hudson; and we are told by the best authority "that not even a contemporaneous print of doubtful authenticity" exists to perpetuate the form or delineate the features of the intrepid navigator.

It is not impossible, however, that his old friend Jodocus Hondius engraved Hudson's portrait, and that it may yet be found in some odd corner.

II.

Richard Hakluyt.

Richard Hakluyt, descended from an ancient family long seated in the county of Hereford, in England, was born, it is supposed, in or near London, about the year 1553. He received his preliminary education at Westminster school, and it was while sojourning at "that fruitful nurserie," as one of the Queen's scholars, that he paid a visit to his cousin, Master Richard Hakluyt, a gentleman of the Middle Temple, who first planted in his mind the love of cosmography, and turned his attention to maritime discoveries. At the age of seventeen he was elected to Christ Church College, Oxford. Four years later he took his degree of Bachelor of Arts, and on the 27th June, 1577, he received that of Master of Arts. Some years afterward he addressed letters to Lord Admiral Howard and Sir Francis Walsingham, with a view to the permanent establishment of a course of lectures on navigation; and prior to the year 1589 it appears that he himself delivered discourses on the subject. It is said that it was proposed to him to accompany Sir Humphrey Gilbert to New Foundland. Whatever may have been the fact, we know that he did not go, and that shortly afterward he was appointed chaplain to Sir Edward Stafford, ambassador from Queen Elizabeth to the court of France. While residing in Paris about the year 1588, by the Queen's mandate he became prebendary of Bristol. He did not, however, return to England until 1588. In this year he was one of

* Knickerbocker's Hist., N. Y., P. 78

the assignees of Sir Walter Ralegh's patent. In 1594 he married, and nine years later succeeded Dr. Richard Webster as a prebendary of Westminster. He died on the 23rd November, 1616, and was buried in "the Abbey Church of Westminster, dedicated to St. Peter, on the 26th of the same month."* A full account of his various works may be found in Mr. Winter Jones's introduction to the Hakluyt Society Publications for 1850.

III.

Samuel Purchas.

The Reverend Samuel Purchas an English clergyman, whose principal work, the *Pilgrimes*, and *Pilgrimage*, is so frequently referred to in the preceding pages, was a native of Thaksted in Essex, where he was born in the year 1577. After studying at Cambridge, "he became Minister of Eastwood in Rockford hundred in his own county, but being desirous to collect and write about voyages, travels, and pilgrimages, left his cure to his Brother, and by the favor of the Bishop of London, got to be Parson of St. Martin's church within Ludgate;" and was also made Chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury. Wood in his Fasti Oxonienses, (Vol. I, pp. 821, 822), gives a list of his works, and says, "by the publishing of which books he brought himself into debt, but died not in prison, as some have said, but in his own house, (a little while after the king had promised him a Deanery) about 1628, aged 51." Boissard, *Bibliotheca*, (ed. 1650), describes him as "an Englishman admirably skilled in languages and human and divine arts; a very great philosopher, historian and theologian; a faithful priest of his own church; very widely known for his many excellent writings, and especially for his large volumes pertaining to the East and West Indies."

IV.

Extracts from the Private Diary of Dr. Dee.

"1577, Nov. 6th. Sir Umfrey Gilbert cam to me to Mortlak.

* Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*, I, 350, ed. 1690.

"Nov. 22d. I rod to Windsor to the Q. Majestie. Nov. 25th. I spake with the Quene hora quinta; I spake with Mr. Secretary Walsingham.* I declared to the Quene her title to Greenland, Estetiland and Friseland." Pp. 3-4.

"1578, June 30. I told Mr. Daniel Rogers,† Mr. Hackluyt of the Middle Temple being by, that Kyng Arthur and King Maty, both of them, did conquier Gelindia, lately called Friseland, which he so noted presently in his written copy of Monumethensis,‡ for he had no printed boke thereof." * * *

"1578, August 5th. Mr. Raynolds, of Bridewell, tok his leave of me as he passed toward Dartmouth, to go with Sir Umfrey Gilbert toward Hocheleya." P. 4.

"1579, Oct. 18th. Mr Adrian Gilbert and John Davys reconcyled themselves to me, and disclosed some of Emery, his most unhonest, hypocriticall and devilish dealings and devises agaynst me and other, and likewise of that errant strompet her abominable wordes and dedes; and John Davys sayd that he might curse the time that ever he knew Emery, and so much followed his wicked cownsayle and advyse. So just is God!"

"1580, Aug. 28. My dealing with Sir Humfrey Gilbert for his graunt of discovery." P. 8.

"1580, Sept. 10th. Sir Humfrey Gilbert graunted me my request to him, made by letter, for the royaltyes of discovery all to the North above the parallell of the 50 degree of latitude, in the presence of Stoner, Sir John Gilbert, his servant or reteiner; and thereuppon toke me by the hand with faithful promises in his lodging of John Cooke's howse in Wichcross strete, where wee dyned onely us three together, being Satterday." P. 8.

* Ashmole informs us that Walsingham continued for a length of time one of Dr Dee's best patrons.

† Rogers was a member of the University of Oxford, and a large commonplace book in his handwriting was in Archbishop Tenison's library in St. Martin's-in-the-Fields.

‡ That is *Galfridus Monumetensis de gestis regum Britanniæ.* Hakluyt mentions this fact in his collection of voyages.

"1581, March 23d. At Mortlak cam to me Hugh Smith, who had returned from Magellan straights and Vaygatz." * * *

"June 17th (1581). Yong Mr. Hawkins, who had byn with Sir Francis Drake, cam to me to Mortlake." P. 11.

"1582, July 16th. A meridie hor. $3\frac{1}{2}$ cam Sir George Peckuam to me to know the tytle for Novembega in respect of Spayn and Portugall parting the whole world's distilleryes. He promysed me of his gift and of his patient * * * of the new conquest, and thought to get so moche of Mr. Gerardes gift to be sent me with seale within a few days." P. 16.

"1583, Feb'y 4th. Mr Edmunds of the Privie Chamber, Mr Lee, who had byn in Moschovia, cam to be acquaynted with me." P. 18.

"1583, March 17th. Mr John Davys went to Chelsey with Mr Adrien Gilbert to Mr Radforths, and so the 18th day from thence towards Devonshyre." P. 19.

"1583, Aug. 7th. Mr William Burrow passed by me." P. 21.

"1589, Dec. 29. Mr Adrien Gilbert cam to me to Mortlak, and offred me as much as I could require at his hands, both for my goods carried away, and for the mynes." P. 32.

"1590, April 16th. Good Sir Francis Walsingham died at night hora undecima." P. 33.

"1590, May 18th. The two gentlemen, the unckle Mr Richard Candish, and his nephew the most famous Mr Thomas Candish, who had sayled rownd the world, did visit me at Mortlake." Pp. 33-34.

"1594, April 1st. Capitayn Hendor* made acquayntance with me, and shewed me a part of his pollicy against the Spanish King his intended mischief agaynst her Majestie and this realme." P. 49.

"1595, Oct. 9th. I dyned with Syr Walter Rawlegh at Durham Howse." P. 54.

* Dr Dee has preserved several interesting notices of his intimacies with the principal navigators of his time. A general reference to Hakluyt will be sufficient.

V.

EXTRACTS FROM THE JOURNAL OF ROBERT JUET, OF LIMEHOUSE CONCERNING THE DISCOVERY OF DELAWARE BAY. FROM PURCHAS, HIS PILGRIMES, PART III, pp. 590-591.

The eighth and twentieth, faire and hot weather, the winde at South South-west. In the morning at sixe of the clocke wee weighed, and steered away North twelve leagues till noone, and came to the Point of the Land ; and being hard by the Land in fiue fathomes, on a sudden we came into three fathomes ; then we beare up and had but ten foote water, and ioyned to the Point. Then as soone as wee were ouer, we had fiue, sixe, seuen, eight, nine, ten, twelue, and thirteene fathomes. Then wee found the land to trend away North-west, with a great Bay and Riuers. But the Bay wee found shoald ; and in the offing wee had ten fathomes, and had sight of Breaches and drie Sand. Then wee were forced to stand back eagaine ; so wee stood backe South-east by South, three leagues. And at seuen of the clocke wee Anchored in eight fathomes water : and found a Tide set to the North-west, and North North-west, and it riseth one fathome, and floweth South South-east. And he that will throughly Discouer this great Bay, must have a small Pinnasse, that must draw but foure or fiue foote water, to sound before him. At fiue in the morning wee weighed, and steered away to the Eastward on many courses, for the Norther Land is full of shoalds. Wee were among them, and once wee strooke, and wee went away ; and steered away to the South-east. So wee had two, three, foure, fiue, sixe, and seuen fathomes, and so deeper and deeper.

The nine and twentieth, faire weather, with some Thunder and showers, the winde shifting between the South South-west, and the North North-west. In the morning we weighed at the breake of day, and stood toward the Norther Land, which was found to bee all Ilands to our sight, and great stormes from them, and are shoald three leagues off. For we comming by them, had but seuen, sixe, fiue, foure, three, and two fathomes and a halfe, and strooke ground with our Rudder, we steered off South-west, one Glasse, and had fiue fathoms. Then we steered South-east three glasses, then we found seuen fathomes, and steered North-east by East, foure leagues, and came to twelue and thirteene fathomes. At one of the clocke,

I went to the topmast head, and set the Land, and the bodie of the Ilands did beare North-west by North. And at foure of the clocke wee had gone foure leagues East South-east, and North-east by East, and found but seuen fathoms, and it was calme, so we Anchored. Then I went againe to the top-mast head, to see how farre I could see Land about vs, and could see no more but the Ilands. And the souther point of them did beare North-west by West, eight leagues off. So wee rode till mid-night. Then the winde came to the North North-west, so wee waighed and set sayle.

VI.

EXTRACTS RELATING TO HUDSON'S THIRD VOYAGE FROM JOHN DE LAET'S NIEUWE WERELT. Fol., Amsterdam, 1625, 1630. From Book III, Chapter 7.

The following passages are from the New York Historical Society's Collections, New Series, Vol. I, pp. 290, 291.

As to the first discovery, the Directors of the privileged East India Company, in 1609, dispatched the yacht "Half Moon," under the command of Henry Hudson, captain and super-cargo, to seek a passage to China by the north-east. But he changed his course and stood over towards New France, and having passed the banks of Newfoundland, in latitude 43^0 23′,* he made the land in latitude 44^0 15′,† with a west-north-west and north-west course, and went on shore at a place where there were many of the natives, with whom, as he understood, the French came every year to trade. Sailing hence, he bent his course to the south, until, running south-south-west and south west by south, he again made land in latitude 41^0 43′, which he supposed to be an island, and gave it the name of New Holland,‡ but afterwards discovered that it was Cape Cod, and that, according to his observation, it lay two hundred and twenty-five miles to the west of its place on all the charts. Pursuing his course to the south, he again saw land in latitude 37^0 15′, the coast was low, running north and south, and opposite to it lay a bank or shoal, within

* Near Cape Sable, Nova Scotia.

† On the coast of Maine.

‡ See Dr. Asher's note, p. 155, Hak. Soc. Pub., 1860.

which there was a depth of eight, nine, ten, eleven, seven and six and a half fathoms, with a sandy bottom. Hudson called this Dry Cape.*

Changing his course to the northward, he again discovered land in latitude 38° 9′, where there was a white sandy shore, and within appeared a thick grove of trees full of green foliage. The direction of the coast was north-north-east and south-south-west, for about twenty-four miles; then north and south for twenty one miles, and afterwards south-east and north-west for fifteen miles. They continued to run along this coast to the north, until they reached a point from which the land stretches to the west and north-west, where several rivers discharge into an open bay. Land was seen to the east-north-east, which Hudson at first took to be an island, but it proved to be the main land, and the second point of the bay, in latitude 38° 54′.† Standing in upon a course north-west by east, they soon found themselves embayed. and, encountering many breakers, stood out again to the south-south-east. Hudson suspected that a large river discharged into the bay, from the strength of the current that set out and caused the accumulation of sands and shoals.

Continuing their course along the shore to the north, they observed a white sandy beach and drowned land within, beyond which there appeared a grove of wood; the coast running north-east by east, and south-west by south. Afterwards the direction of the coast changed to north by east, and was higher land than they had yet seen. They at length reached a lofty promontory or head-land, behind which was situated a bay which they entered and ran up into a road-stead near a low sandy point, in latitude 40° 18′.‡ There they were visited by two savages clothed in elk skins, who showed them every sign of friendship. On the land they found an abundance of blue plums, and magnificent oaks, of a height and thickness that one seldom

* Near the mouth of Chesapeake Bay; the description of the coast corresponds to the vicinity of Cape Charles.

† This was without doubt Cape May, now laid down in latitude 38° 57′, varying only 3′ from observations of Hudson. The remainder of the description applies well enough to Delaware bay and river, now first discovered, as claimed by the Dutch.

‡ This is about the latitude of Sandy Hook. The highlands of New Jersey formed the lofty promontory referred to.

beholds ; together with poplars, linden trees, and various other kinds of wood useful in ship-building. Sailing hence in a north-easterly direction, they ascended a river to nearly 43° north latitude, where it became so narrow and of so little depth that they found it necessary to return.*

From all that they could learn, there had never been any ships nor Christians in that quarter before, and they were the first to discover the river and ascend it so far. Henry Hudson returned to Amsterdam with this report ; and in the following year, 1610, some merchants again sent a ship thither, that is to say, to the second river discovered, which was called *Manhattes*, from the savage nation that dwelt at its mouth. And subsequently their High Mightinesses, the States General, granted to these merchants the exclusive privilege of navigating this river and trading there ; whereupon, in the year 1615, a redoubt or fort was erected on the river, and occupied by a small garrison, of which we shall hereafter speak. Our countrymen have continued to make voyages thither from year to year, for the purpose of trafficking with the natives, and on this account the country has very justly received the name of New-Netherland.

VII.

"The Hudson Tract."

Hessel Gerritz's Various Accounts of Hudson's Two Last Voyages.†

From the Latin and Dutch editions of the *Descriptio et Deliniatio Geographica : Detectionis Freti ab H. Hudsono Inventi.* 4to, Amsterdam, 1612, 1613.

The following accounts are all due to the same hand ; they even form parts of the different editions of the same work ; and the natural supposition would therefore be, that they must be repetitions of each other. This is, indeed, in a small degree, the case. But the varia-

* The latitude of Albany is 42° 39′. It appears from Juet's Journal of the voyage, that Hudson sent his small boat further up the river than his ship proceeded, and in this way he probably reached the latitude of Albany, described as *nearly* 43°.

† Extracted from *Hudson the Navigator*, by Dr Asher. Hakluyt Society's Pub., 1860.

tions between them are very great and very curious; showing, as they do, the uncertainty of Gerritz's information, and how it was gradually corrected. It has, therefore, seemed advisable to reprint them all.

I.

HUDSON'S FOURTH VOYAGE, A SUMMARY PRINTED ON THE BACK OF THE CHART. — *An Account of the Voyage and New Found Strait of Mr Hudson.*

Mr Hudson, who has been repeatedly engaged in the search of a western passage, long intended to undertake an expedition for this same purpose through Lumley's Inlet, a channel leading out of Davis's Strait; as we ourselves have seen pointed out on his map, which is in Mr. Plantius's hands. He hoped thus to reach the Pacific by the west of Nova Albion,* where another Englishman had, according to his drawings, passed through. Hudson found after many labors the way represented on our map, and he was only prevented from following it further up by the resistance of his crew. This mutiny took place under the following circumstances:—They had been absent from home about ten months, being provisioned only for eight, and during their whole voyage they had met but a single man, who brought them an animal which they ate; but having been badly treated, the man never returned. Having thus left the latitude of 52^0 where they had wintered, and having sailed up to 60^0, along the western shore of their bay, they fell in with a wide sea and with a great flood from the north-west. The commander intended to proceed further. The crew then arose against him, and put all the officers out of the ship into a boat, and sailed home to England. For this cause they have, on their arrival at home, all been put in prison; and in the course of the present summer (1612), some ships have again been sent to those regions by order of the King and of the Prince of Wales,† to discover a passage and to look for Mr. Hudson and his companions. These have received orders that, in

* Nova Albion is a vague term embracing all the possessions of the English in North America.

† Henry, Prince of Wales, a young man of great promise, who died in November, 1612.

case the passage be found, two of them shall pass through it, the third shall be sent home with the news, which we are expecting.

II.

Hudson's Third and Fourth Voyages.

From the Prolegomena to the First Latin Edition.

But as even after these voyages of William Barentz,* the English had repeatedly tried that northern way, the Directors of the East India Company resolved three years ago to send there a certain Mr. Hudson, an Englishman. He having found no way to the east, but, instead of it, the ocean almost entirely obstructed by ice, went to the west, and returned without any profit to England. He was then sent out again by the English, and his voyage was far more prosperous, but his own fortune far worse. For, having after many labors passed beyond the *Terra de Baccalaos* † for about three hundred miles ‡ to the west, and having wintered there in latitude 52^0, and being sure to be able to go still farther; then, not only he himself, but all his officers, were put into a boat by their mutinous crew, and left to drift on the waves. The sailors returned home without delay. We have added his geographical observations to the present book. We expect more certain news by the ships which have already been sent there; and even the much desired report that they will have passed through the strait. These ships will thus obtain eternal fame and glory. * * *

The news of Hudson's recently found passage to the north of Newfoundland, and the hope of a strait, is confirmed by the testimony of the Virginian and Floridan savages, who all state most distinctly that their country is washed on its south-western side by a vast ocean, in which they have seen ships similar to those of the English.

* The preceding passage of the Prolegomena, or Preface to Hessel Gerritz's work, contains a short account of Barentz's voyages to the north-east in search of a short way to China.

† *Terra de Baccalaos*, or cod-fish land, is a vague term, embracing most of the codfish stations north of 49°. On the old maps the name is generally written in latitude 55° or 56°.

‡ Probably German miles. The other accounts have *leucas* (leagues).

III.

Hudson's Third and Fourth Voyages.

From the Latin Edition of 1612.

An Account of the Discovery of the North-western Passage, which is expected to lead to China and Japan, by the North of the American Continent, found by Mr. H. Hudson, an Englishman.

The English nation, encouraged by previous success, have grown bolder and bolder in their naval enterprise. Thus, besides their frequent voyages to the east, to Nova Zembla and to Spitzbergen,* they have made almost uninterrupted efforts to discover a western passage or strait to China and Japan. They expected that sailing by this road they would have on their left the North American shores, where they have founded their Virginian colony.

Several of those who set out in search of that passage entered Davis's Straits. Their example was followed by Captain George Winwood,† who sailed in 1602 nearly five hundred English miles up that strait, but was then forced by the ice to return. He now attempted to find the desired passage by exploring the narrows under 61°, which the English call Lumley's Inlet. But having sailed a hundred leagues into them he again turned back, partly on account of the sufferings which the great length of the voyage produced among his crew, partly because he desired to explore two more bays, situated between Lumley's Inlet and Baccalaos, whence the sea was streaming out with great might. These facts are stated in his log books, which Mr. Peter Plantius, a diligent investigator of such matters, communicated to Mr H. Hudson during his stay in Amsterdam in 1609, when Hudson was going to undertake a search for a passage to the north of Nova Zembla for the Directors of the Dutch East India Company. He did set out, but achieved nothing in the east; he sailed therefore straight westward, to attempt again the way searched out and drawn by Captain Winwood; which way, after passing for about a hundred leagues through a narrow channel, leads out into a wide sea. Hudson hoped to find a way through this sea,

* Gerritz has *Groenlandiam.*

† George Waymouth. The mistake is corrected in the later editions.

though Plantius had proved to him the impossibility of success from the accounts of a man who had reached the western shore of that sea. Hudson achieved, in 1609, nothing memorable, even by this new way. But he was again sent out in 1610 by his own countrymen. He now followed the way through Lumley's Inlet, pointed out to him by Winwood's papers. Having passed under many labours through the strait, he reached the latitude of 52°, where he wintered. Here he fell in, for the first time during the voyage, with one of the natives of the country. This Indian brought some merchandise, and was armed with a Mexican or Japanese *cris*;* from which circumstances Hudson concluded he was not far from Mexico. The native, however, not being well treated, never afterwards returned. The English thus lost this only chance of adding to their victuals, and being provided for eight months only, they left the harbour they had entered and sailed along the western shore of the bay till up to 62° or 63° north. Here they found a wide sea and more powerful tides from the north-west, which Hudson and the officers intended to examine further. But the crew, who had already been two months longer from home than their provisions had been intended for, rose against their commanders, and exposed Hudson and his friends in a boat in the open air. The crew then returned by the way they had come, and reached their home in September, 1611, where they were thrown into prison. They are going to be kept prisoners till their Captain will have been found. In search of him three ships have been sent out this summer (1612), by the Prince of Wales and some merchants. They are to explore the passage throughout, and when they have found the open ocean, one of them is to return with the desired news. This ship is daily expected home.

IV.

Hudson's Third and Fourth Voyage.

From the Second Latin Edition (1613). With notes indicating the variations of the Dutch Edition.

A Description and Chart of the Discovery of the Strait or passage by the North of the American Continent to China and Japan.

The English, stimulated by the happy success of their maritime

* Thus the Mexicans call their flame-shaped Poniards. (Gerritz's notes.)

enterprise, undergo without hesitation the troubles which these expeditions involve; and in spite of the laborious nature of their voyages to the east, to Muscovia, Nova Zembla, and Spitzbergen, they are still bent on new discoveries. They have chiefly made uninterrupted efforts to find a passage in the west, where they have already occupied Virginia and peopled it with their colonists. This passage they have sought for between Greenland and New Francia. Their efforts have as yet been fruitless, and through ice and snow they have in vain fought their way up to 70^0 or even 80^0 of north latitude. The strait which they have thus explored bears the name of its first discoverer, John Davis. The last navigator who went along that way was Captain George Waymouth, who sailed in the year 1602, and who, after a voyage of five hundred leagues, was, like his predecessors, forced by the ice to return. But on purpose to draw at least some advantage from his expedition, he directed his course to the bay under 61°, which the English call Lumley's Inlet, and sailed a hundred leagues in a south-westerly direction into it. Having gone so far, he found himself landlocked, and despairing of a passage, he was, by the weakness of his crew and by other causes, forced to return. He, however, first explored two more bays between that country and Baccalaos, and found there the water wide and mighty like an open sea, with very great tides.

This voyage, though far from fulfilling Waymouth's hopes, assisted Hudson very materially in finding his famous strait. George Waymouth's logbooks fell into the hands of the Mr. Peter Plantius, who pays the most diligent attention to such new discoveries, chiefly when they may be of advantage to our own country; and when in 1609, Hudson was preparing to undertake a voyage for the Directors of the East India Company, in search of a passage to China and Cathay by the north of Nova Zembla, he obtained these logbooks from Peter Plantius. Out of them he learned this whole voyage of George Waymouth, through the narrows north of Virginia, till into the great inland sea; and thence he concluded that this road would lead him to India. But Peter Plantius refuted this latter opinion from the accounts of a man who had searched and explored the western shore of that sea, and had stated that it formed an unbroken line of coast. Hudson, in spite of this advice, sailed westward to try what chance of a passage might be left there, having first gone to Nova Zembla, where he found the sea entirely blocked up by ice and snow. He

seems, however, according to the opinion of our countrymen, purposely to have missed the right road to the western passage, unwilling to benefit Holland and the Directors of the Dutch East India Company by such a discovery. All he did in the west in 1609, was to exchange his merchandise for furs in New France. He then returned safely to England, where he was accused of having undertaken a voyage to the detriment of his own country. Still anxious to discover a western passage, he again set out in 1610, and directed his course to Davis's strait. There he entered in latitude 61° the path pointed out by George Waymouth, and explored all the shores laid down in the present chart,* up to the height of 63°. He then sailed to the south, down to 54°,† where he wintered. When he left his winter quarters he ran along the western shore for forty leagues, and fell in, under 60°, with a wide sea, agitated by mighty tides from the north-west. This circumstance inspired Hudson with great hope of finding a passage, and his officers were quite ready to undertake a further search; but the crew, weary of a long voyage, and unwilling to continue it, bethought themselves of the want of victuals, with which they had been provided for eight months only, and to which no additions had been made during the voyage, except one large animal which an Indian brought. This Indian was armed with a Mexican or Japanese *cris* (poniard), from which fact Hudson concluded that a place which possessed Mexican arms and productions could not be far distant from that country.‡ At last the ill-will of the crew prevailed. They exposed Hudson and the other officers in a boat on the open sea, and returned into their own country. There they have been thrown into prison for their crime, and will be kept there until their captain shall be safely brought home.§ For that

* *His* Chart (Zyne Caerte), according to the Dutch edition; a fac-simile is in Hak. Soc. Pub. for 1860.

† 52 degrees (52 *ste. graed*), Dutch edition.

‡ Wherefrom it appears that the people of that country have some communication with those along the Pacific ocean. (*Daer wt dattet schijnt die natie daer te lande ghemeenschap te hebben met die aen de Zuyder Zee.*) Dutch edition.

§ The Dutch edition, published several months *before* the Latin, has from this point an entirely different termination. "He is being searched for by the ships which have been sent out this summer by the merchants and by the Prince of Wales, who is said to assist them. These ships are not expected to return before

purpose some ships have been sent out last year (1612) by the late Prince of Wales ;* and by the directors of the Moscovia company, about the return of which nothing has as yet been heard. We may therefore hope that they have passed beyond that strait, and we do not think that we shall hear anything about them before they return to England from East India or China and Japan, by the same road by which they went out. This, we hope and pray, may come to pass. Nor has the zeal of our fellow citizens of Amsterdam cooled down. They have some months ago sent out a ship to search for a passage or for Hudson's Strait, to try whether any convenient intercourse can be established with those places, or, if this should be found impossible, to trade on the coasts of New France.†



they will have been in Mare del Zur. We wish them good luck." (*Die ghesocht wort van de scheepens die dese somer derwaert gesonden zijn van de Coopluyden ende van den Prince van Wallis die daer de hand aen hout, soo gheseyt wort, Welcke scheepens men meent niet te sullen weder komen eer sy al heel sullen tot in Mar del Zur geweest hebben, daer wy haer gheluck toe wenschen*).

* Henry, Prince of Wales, died in November, 1612, between the publication of the first and second editions of Hessel Gerritz. The ships sent out were commanded by Button, the discoverer of Button's Bay, a gentleman of Prince Henry's household. Button wintered in Hudson's Bay, and returned in autumn, 1613.

† For an account of this expedition see O'Callaghan, *History of New Netherland*, i, pp. 68, 69. See also *Henry Hudson in Holland*, pp. 31, 32. By Henry C. Murphy.

"INTER FOLIA FRUCTUS."

A LETTER

FROM AN

English Traveller at Rome

TO HIS FATHER.

(1721.)

NOW FIRST PRINTED.

"History is but the unrolled scroll of Prophecy."
—JAMES A. GARFIELD.

PRIVATELY PRINTED
FOR THE CLARENDON HISTORICAL SOCIETY.
1884.

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Introduction.

THROUGH the courtesy of the Rev. C. E. Bowden, M.A., of this city, I am enabled to offer the members of our Society a genuine treat, in the shape of the following letter, never before printed. It gives some extremely interesting details about the Chevalier de St. George and his wife, and will, I feel sure, be very welcome to all. The spelling of the original, bad as it is, is retained throughout, as well as all mistakes of punctuation. Names alone are suppressed.

EDMUND GOLDSMID.

A LETTER

FROM AN

English Traveller at Rome

TO HIS FATHER.

Rome, ye 6th of May, 1721.

Sir,

I have by my former Letters given you a particular account of my Travels to the time of my departure from Venice. On ye 20th of March the Honourable Mr.———and I arrived here; and the Popes death gave us an opportunity to see all those ceremonies which are used on such solemn occasions. I have been carefull in observing them, and have degested them into such method, in order to entertain such of my friends as I shall find curious on my return from my Travils. I have also taken some paines to be exact in my accounts of the Curiosities, with which this Citty abounds, and I hope I shall have time enough to compleat my observations: for since the time of the New Pontifs Coranation is near at hand, I am resolved to embrace the opportunity of observing whatever may be remarkable in yt solemnity. After my arrival hear I received your letter of ye 15th of Februy by which you reminded me of your Commands at my Departure to avoid Conversing with ye Pretender or any of his dependents. I must own, that notwithstanding my Inbred

dislike to his pretensions, and my Confirmed aversion for his profession, I often found my Curiosity inclining me to be so farr acquainted with his person and Carracter, that I might be able to say from my own Knowledg, what sort of man he is, who has made and dayly makes so great a noise in England. And I have sometimes fancied that you yourself, Sir, would not be sattisfyed with me, if after staying so long in Rome I were not able to give you a particular account of him. However my regard to your special Commands was always an over balance to my Curiosity until perfect Chance ordaind the Contrary. I beg leave to ashure you that this is literaly true; and lest you should receave Misinformation on this point from any other hand, I chuse to give you a particular account how it happened, and shall lay nothing in the relation but undisguised truth.

About a month ago, Mr—— and I being in search of some of the antiquities of this place, we became acquainted with an English Gentleman, very knowing in this kind of learning and who provd of great use to us, his name was Dr Cooper a priest of ye Church of England, whom we did not suspect to be of ye Pretenders retinue, but tooke him to be a curious Traveller, which opportunaty created in me a great liking for his conversation. On Ester Eve he made us the complement, that as he supposd us bred in ye profession of the said Church, he thought it incumbent upon him to invite us to Devine service (next day being Ester Sunday). Such language at Rome apeard to me a jest; I stard at the Doctor who added that the Pretender who he call'd King had prevaild with the late Pope to grant licences for having Divine service according to the rules of the Church of England performed in his Palace, for the Benefit of the Protestant Gentlemen of his suite, his Domesticks and travellers and one Docter Berkely and himself were appointed for the Discharge of this Duty and that prayers were as orderly hear as at London. I should have remained of St. Thomas belief had not I been aware that this is matter of fact, and as such have noted it down amongst the great wonders of Rome, this was the occasion of my first entrance into ye Pretenders house, I became familiar with both the Doctors, who are sensible well bred men. I put several questions to them about ye Pretender and if Creditt can be given them they ashurd me he is an upright Morall Man, very far from any sort of Begottry and most avers to Disputes and distinctions of Religeon, whereof not a word is admitted in his family; they decribed him in his person very

much to the resemblance of King Charles ye II to which they say he aproches every day more and more with a great aplication to business, and a head well turnd that way, having only some Clarks to whom he dictates such Letters as he does not write with his own Hands. Some days after my Friend and I went to take the Evening air in the stately Park called Villa Ludovici; there we met on a sudden face to face with the Pretender, his princess and Cort. We were so very close, before we understood who they were, that we could not retreat with decency; Common Civility obliged us to stand sideways in the Ally, as others did to lett them pass by. The Pretender was easily distinguished from the rest by his Starr and Garter, as well as by an air of Greatness which discovered a Majesty superiour to ye rest. I felt in that instant of his aproach a strong Convulsion of body and mind, such as I was never sensible of before; whether Aversion, Awe or Respect occasiond it, I cant tell. I remarked his eyes fixt upon me, which I confess I could not bear. I was perfectly stunnd and not aware of my self when persuant to what the standers by did, I made him a Salute, he returned it with a Smile, which changd the sedateness of his first aspect into a very graceful Countenance; as he past by, I observed him to be a well siz'd Clean limbd man.

I had but one Glimps of the princess, which left me a great desire of seeing her again, however my friend and I turned off into another ally, to reason at leasure on our severall observations; there we mett Doctor Cooper and after making some turns with him the same company came again in our way. I was grown somewhat bolder and resolvd to lett them pass as before, in order to have a full view of ye Princess. She is of middle stature well shapd and has lovely features, while Vivacity and Mildness of temper are painted in her lookes. When they came up to us the Pretender stood and spoke a word to the Doctor; then looking at us he askd him if we were English Gentlemen; he askd how long we had been in Town and whether we had any acquaintance in it: then told us he had a house, where English Gentlemen would be very welcome. The Princess who stood by addressed to the Doctor in the prettiest English I think I ever heard, said, "Pray, Doctor, if these Gentlemen be lovers of Musick invite them to my concert to night: I charge you with it," which she accompanyd with a Salute, and a smile in the most Gracious Manner.

It was a very hard task, Sir, to recead from the honour of such an Invitation given by a Princess who altho married to the Pretender deserves so much respect in regard to her person, her name and family. However we argued the case with the Doctor and represented the strict orders we had to the Contrary. He replyd there could be no prohibition to a Traveller against Musick even at the ceremonies of the Roman Cath. Church, yt if we misst this occasion of seeing this assembly of Roman Nobility we might not recover it again whilst we said in Rome and that it became persons of our age and degree to act always the part of Gentlemen without regard to party humours.

These arguments were more forcible than ours, so we went and saw a bright Assembly of the prime Roman Nobility, the Consort composd of the best Musitians of Rome, a plentifull and orderly Colation servd: But the courteous and affable manner of our Reception was more taking than all the rest. We had a general Invitation given us whilst we staid in Town and were desired to use that Palace as our own. Hence we were Indispensably obligd to make a visitt every day in order to return thanks for so many Civilitys receavd: those are things due to a Turk.

We were admitted without Ceremonie; the Pretender entertaind us on the subject of our families as Knowingly, as if he had been all his life in England, he told me some passages of my Grandfather and of his being a constant lover of King Charles ye I. and II. and added that if you, Sir, had been of Age before my Grandfathers death to learn his principles there had been little danger of your taking party against the Rights of a Stuart.

He then observd how far the Prejudices of Education, and wrong notions of Infancy are apt to carry people from the paths of their Ancestors. He discorst as pertinantly on severall of our neighbouring Families, as I could do. Upon which I told him I was surprizd at his so perfect Knowledg of our Families in England. His answer was, that from his Infancy he had made it his business to acquire the Knowledg of the Laws, customs, and Families of his Country so as he might not be reputed a stranger when the Almighty pleasd to Call him thither.

Those and the like discorses held until word was brought, that dinner was servd, We endeavourd all we could to withdraw but there was no Possibility for it, after he had made us this Complement, "I ashure you Gentlemen I shall never be for Constraining any mans Inclinations, however our Grandfathers who were worthy people Dind often together and I hope that there can be no falt found that we do the same."

There is every day a regular Table of Ten, or Twelve Covers wel serud, unto which some of the Qualyfyed persons of his Cort or Travelers are Invited : Its supplyd with English and French Cookery French and Italian wines, but I took notice that the Pretender eat only of the English dishes and made his Dinner of Roast Beef, and what we call Devonshire Pye : He also preferrs our march Beer which he has from Leghorn, to the best wines. At the Desert he Drinks his Glass of Champayne very heartily, and to do him Justice he is as free and Cheerfull at his Table as any man I know. He spoke much in favour of our English Ladies, and said he was persuaded, he had not many enemies amongst them. The Princess with a smiling countenance, took up the matter, and said, "I think then Sir it would be but Just, that I drink to the Cavaliers."

Sometime after ye Pretender began a Health to ye prosperity of all Friends in England which he addressd to me. I took the freedom to reply that as I presumed, he meant his own friends, he would not take it ill that I meant mine. "I ashure you Sir, said he, that the friends you mean can have no great share of prosperity till they become mine, therefore hears prosperity to yours and mine."

After we had sat and drank very heartily, the Princess told us we must go to see her Son, which could not be refusd. He is realy a fine promising Child, and is attended by English women, mostly protestant, which the Princess observed to us, saying that as she believd he was to live and Dye among protestants, she thought fitt to have him bred up by their hands ; and that in the Country where she was born, there was no other Distinction, but that of honest and dishonest. These women and particular two Londoners kept such a racket about us to make us kiss the yong pretenders hand that to get clear of them as soon as we could, we were forced to Comply. The Princess laught very heartily and told us shee question'd but the

day would come that we should not be sorry to have made so early acquaintance with her Son. I thought myself under a necessity of making her a Complement that Being Hers he could not miss of being good and happy. On the next post day we went as commonly the English Gentlemen hear do, to the Pretenders House for News. He had receivd a great many Letters, and after perusing them he told us yt there was no great prospect of amendment in the affairs of England, that the secred Committee and severall other honest men were takeing abundance of paines to find out the Cause of the Nations dejection : which knowledg, when attaind to, would avail only to give the more Concern to the publick without procuring relief; for that the authors would find means to be above the Common Cours of Justice. He bemoand the misfortune of England groaning under a load of trouble and the severest hardships, contracts and Imposts to support Foreign Interests. He lamented the ill treatment and disregard of the Ancient Nobility, and said, it gave him great trouble to see the Intrest of the Nation abandoned to the direction of a new set of people, who must at any rate enrich themselves by the spoile of their Country ; "Some may imagine," continued he, "that these Calamities are not displeasing to me because they may in some measure turn to my Advantage. I renounce all such unworthy Thoughts. The love of my Country is the first principle of my worldly wishes and my heart bleeds to see so brave and honest a people distressed and misled by a few wicked men and plunged into Miseries almost Iretrievable." Thereupon he rose briskly from his Chair and expressed his Concern with fire in his Eyes.

I could not disavow much of what he said : yet I own I was piqued at it for very often Compassionate terms from the mouth of an advers party are grating : it appeared so to me on this occasion, therefore I replyd : "Its true Sir, that our affairs in England lye at present under many hardships by the South Seas Mismanagement. But it is a constant maxim with us Protestants to undergo a great deal for the Security of our religion which we could not depend upon under a Romish government." "I know, sir" replyd he, "this is the Argument some who perhaps have had a very slight share of religion, do make use of in order to delude the honest well meaning People who have most of it. I ashure you these latter and I should agree very wel and be happy together." Then addressing to another English gentleman of the Company, he said, "I have been told

by several of the eminent Prelates of the Church of Rome particularly my friend the late Archbishop of Cambray that it should never be my busines to studdy how to be an Appostle, but how to become a good King, to all my people without Distinction : which shal be found true if ever it please God to restore me. I have given my word in my Declarations to refer the securities requisite in such points to the persons themselves, that are most concerned therein ; and I have never given any person reason to doubt but I will maintaine my promises to ye full. I can bouldly say that none can with Justice reproach me with failing in the least point of honour, which has and always shall be dearer than any Crown or my very Life."

It was urged to him that the Roman Cath. Cleargy ye Jesuits and fryers are accusd of being apt to start disputes to come by the end and of a dangerous temper. He answerd he had sufficient warnings before him from the troubles in which his Father had been involved by faithless and evil councelors, that he was intirely of oppinion that all cleargymen not authorized by the statutes of a nation out to be confined to the bare dutys of there profession and that if any of them should be found intermeddling with the public concerns or creating disputes to the prejudice of the good understanding that ought to be cherrished between the King and his Subjects it was his oppinion they ought to be removd out of the way of doing Mischief. He averred this should constantly be his Maxim. I thought it full time to take leave, and break of the conversation, as I perceave it to finish this long letter. I own I am not sorry to have contented so far my curiosity and that were he not the Pretender I should like the man very wel. We should truly pass much of our time in dullness, had we not the diversion of his hous but I will give you my word I will enter no more upon arguments of this kind with him ; for he has too much witt and learning for me : besides that he speaks with such an air of sincerity that I am apprehensive I should become half a Jacobite, if I should coutinue following these discourses any longar.

I crave the favour of your blessing and remain with all dutiful respect &c.

"INTER FOLIA FRUCTUS."

A

KING and no KING:

Or, the

BEST ARGUMENT

FOR A

JUST TITLE.

BEING

The Present CASE

OF

GREAT BRITAIN,

Briefly Consider'd in a

Seasonable Address

TO THE

PEOPLE.

Pretended Kings, and Prophets, are the Test;
By which we judge of, and obey the best.

Garth.

LONDON: Printed and sold by *S. Popping*, at the Raven in *Pater-noster-row*, and by the Book-Sellers of *London* and *Westminster*. Price 3*d.* or 3*s.* for a quarter of a Hundred to those that give them away. 1716.

"History is but the unrolled scroll of Prophecy."
—James A. Garfield.

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TO THE

GOOD PEOPLE OF ENGLAND, &c.

Dear Country-Men,

IT is impossible for one who has the least Compassion for you, or Love to his Country, to see with Patience the present *Delusion* that Reigns in this Kingdom: Would the old *English* Genius but rouze in you, how wou'd you hate your selves for being impos'd on by the Practices of your profest Enemies; Enemies to the Peace and Religion of your Country? Believe me, you are deceiv'd, and those set on to it, are an impious Train of *Priests*, *Jesuits*, *Papists*, *Jacobites*, and their *Adherents;* who by a kind of Infernal, or Magical Power, seem to have raised such a Mist before your Eyes, as has quite darken'd and obscur'd your Reason. The damnable and abhor'd Calumnies they have cast on his Majesty's Person and Government (the crafty Devices to delude you by) cou'd be no where hatch'd but amongst such a Brood, unless the very Devils themselves, Subjects to the Father of all Lyes; who, in this case, seem to have far out-done the Fame of their Original Institution.

Cou'd I but hope to be well heard by my loving Country-Men, I make no doubt of being able to convince them, that Heaven, which has always been propitious to our holy Religion, (by which I mean the Church of *England* Establish'd by Law) has put over us the most merciful, prudent, and religious Prince breathing; whose Word is a Law, from which he never varied in his Life; which sacred and inviolable Security we have had with repeated Assurances, *That the Preservation of our Religion and Liberties shall be the chiefest of his Cares;* against which, neither the *Gates of Hell*, nor the numerous Legends of Falsities devis'd by His Enemies, could have Power to

prevail, if we wou'd but study to deserve the Protection of so good a Prince: A Prince! who is an Honour to these Realms, by the great Character he bears throughout all *Europe*, there being no part of it, in which he is not either belov'd and respected, or fear'd and admir'd: And it is only for want of knowing him truly, the Effect of a vile Deception, that some few of his own deluded Subjects are not struck with the same Admiration of his Virtues: Unhappy Country, not to distinguish the Worth of so Excellent a Prince!

How do we forfeit the name of *Protestants* and *English*-men? Think, dear Country-Men, what it is to be under the Dominion of a *profest Papist*, where at best your Religious and Civil Rights will be always precarious; nay, a bigoted *French Papist*, brought in by a *French* and Popish Power, from whom we can have no hopes; whose last Legacy from his pretended Father, was, *On no Consideration whatever to change his Religion;* No, not even that of a Crown: And can he promise fairer than his said Nominal Dad did before him, that he would secure to us our *Religion* and *Liberties;* and yet how soon did he take off the Mask, when he found himself warm in the Throne? How long was it before the most pious and Eminent among your clergy * were under ill Treatment for preaching against Popery? Others † Suspended for not complying with the most Outragious Orders; and ‡ one of them, of the most pious and Eminent Character, whipt from *Newgate* to *Tyburn*, and Degraded, for daring to set Pen to Paper in Defence of our then sinking Religion. Can you forget the Imprisoning of your Bishops; and what's worse, can you forget the Occasion? because they cou'd not obey his Majesty, contrary to their Consciences and the laws, in being the *Instruments* of his wicked designs to introduce Popery, by taking off the *Test and Penal Laws*, thro' which Door the Papists were to enter into the most Eminent Places both in Church and State, (Papists, nay Jesuits having already been admitted of the Privy Council). Then wou'd the Popish Game have begun, and you wou'd soon have felt the blessed Effects of Romish Mercy: But these glorious Patriarchs stood in the *Gap*, and turn'd the Anger of God upon our Enemies.

Let it live eternally in our Memories, that their Sacred Reverend

* Dr. *Sharp, Archbishop of* York.

† *The Bp. of* London.

‡ *Mr.* Johnson, *Chaplain to Lord* Russell.

Grey Hairs were plac'd at the publick Bench-Bar, the common Shambles of Murderers, and Traytors, a special Instance of Romish Spight and Arrogance, to treat with ignomy and Disgrace, the *Ornaments of our Church.* Can we forget the immediate Hand of Providence that interposed in our DELIVERANCE, and after near 30 Years Expence of Blood and Treasure, to secure these invaluable BLESSINGS to us, shall we now blindly and foolishly be tempted to make a second Tryal of **Popish Sincerity**; and return like Dogs to their Vomit. Must not every *English*-man, nauseate and abhor this, when he recovers the least Article of his Reason? What will it avail you to have the *Meeting-Houses* pull'd down, if you are to have two **Mass-Houses** erected in the room of every one of them? Are the Papists become so amiable in your Eyes, that Protestants are to be persecuted for them? Good God, from whence can this unreasonable Humour spring? But what need I ask——As you are *Britains* and Protestants, I know it must be most unnatural to you; what Hellish Machinations then, what cursed Charms and Devices of the Enemies of our Religion must there be to excite you to the very Things, which in your Natures, I know you abhor and are averse to? If there be any among ye, who are yet redeemable from this Delusion, do but give your selves two Moments Patience, and Reason to reflect on what Conditions we are to receive this hopeful *Son* of *Rome*, (if ever Heaven, which its Providence avert, should, for our manifold Sins visit us with such a sad Affliction) a *rivetted* and *incorrigible* **Bigott**, tainted with the *Æthiopian's Skin of Popery*, not to be washed white; attended by a haughty and revengeful DAM, grown peevish with Age and Disappointments, and swol'n with Revenge, (who will remember all our old Scores no doubt) together with an Army of *Priests*, *Jesuits*, *French*, *Italian*, *Irish*, and the *Devil* and all of Foreign *Papists*, who, in Swarms, will overspread the Face of the Kingdom: And these will all expect Rewards for their faithful Adherence to him; their long and constant Sufferings, as they call them, which must be discharged whatever it costs the Nation, if we do not pay for it in another Kind. And on whom wou'd the Sun of Favour shine but on these Miscreants? Who under the Indulgence they enjoy'd would commit all the impious Villanies their wicked Hearts could devise, even in the Face of open day.

Wou'd it not be a great Comfort to you, to see your selves beset with pamper'd *Priests*, and domineering *Papists*, to see the ridiculous

Trumpery of *Rome*, * pass thro' your Streets in Mock Pageantry, and you perhaps, as the Cause thrives, in time, forc'd to pay it an unwilling Homage on your Knees. What a blessed Consolation must it be to have your Wives and Daughters tempted by Lascivious *Bald-Pates*, and not only debauch'd in their Religion, but their dearer Attributes, their Modesty and Virtues, in Danger from the sly Attempts of Letcherous rampant *Priests*, or the more open Rapes and Violences of Itinerant *Cut-throats* and *Dragoons*. Will not Romish Yokes gall our Necks, and Wooden-Shoes fit very uneasie on our *English Feet?*

Let me beg of you, dear Friends and Country-men, with all the earnestness I am capable to express, that you seriously and heartily consider what I have said, lest you too soon find all these Melancholy Truths writ with the streams of *Protestant English* Blood. Turn your Eyes into your Hearts, and remember you are a free People, born in liberty, which nothing can be too dear to preserve. You have, at this time, the greatest Prospect of Happiness before you, that a Wise and Sober People can desire, if you lay but aside those unreasonable Feuds which are fomented by the Arts of your Enemies, on purpose to obstruct the view of it. You have a Prince on the Throne who does not only fulfil his Obligations of protecting your holy Religion, but is himself a zealous and devout Member of it, and a constant frequenter of its Communion, as is well known to all who have the Honour to be near his Sacred Person. One who has signaliz'd his early Love to it in many Instances; which have been acknowledg'd by our Bishops, and the whole Body of the Clergy in full *Convocation:* Notwithstanding any idle Stories that wicked Men may have infus'd into the Minds of his Honest, but ignorant Subjects, to make *Slavery and Superstition* the more susceptible. You have been taught to cry out, no *Foreigner*, but you will be most deceiv'd when you take the Pretender for *English*, who has been Educated in the worst of Foreign Principles and Customs, not only in their being *French* and *Popish*, but in their being *Arbitrary* and *Tyrannical.* Is not the Cheat besides gross and palpable? have we not a Prince on the Throne immediately descended from the *Royal Blood of England*, (even the Line of the *STUARTS*, if that be of such value to

* *In all Places where there is a Popish Government, the Protestants tho' under the protection of the Laws are forced to kneel even some times in the Dirty Streets, to reverence the Host that passes their Houses.* (Original note.)

you) Great *Grandson* to King *James* the First, and great *Nephew* to King *Charles* I, just of the same Degree of Consanguinity with the late Queen of blessed Memory; the next Protestant Prince of the whole World that is allied to us? A Prince in his Nature, in his Mercy, and in his Principles entirely English; and one who will make us perfectly happy and easy, if we study but our own Good half so much as he does. Those who are contriving your Ruin, know very well the weak side they may attack you on; and therefore as the most fallacious way, possess you with idle Notions of the *Church's Danger:* To evince this the more, it is remarkable, That the Papists are so kind to the poor Church, to join in the CRY: No doubt but they have a great Respect for it if one could trust them. But how easily may these Designs be seen thro'? Can the Church be in Danger from the Church, or is it such a Monster to devour itself? Indeed, some who profess its Worship, make it seem monstrous enough, but I hope they will never be able to give us any Proof of its Danger, unless that of being disgrac'd by their Practices. Has the least attempt been made against its Honour or Purity, or a single Stone in its sacred Walls molested? And shall we cry out Fire, till we at last see some Smoke?

No, Country-men, there is nothing falser than that it is in Danger under his Majesty's happy Administration; nor nothing truer, than that it is the Foundation-stone, on which the Papists and Jacobites build their Hopes of bringing in Popery and the Pretender. To what end else did they set the giddy ignorant Mob up and down the Kingdom to pull down the Meeting-Houses, but that they well knew, if they could but set at Enmity, and divide the Church, from other Protestant Dissenters, they might easily slip in between and destroy both. King *James* built his Designs on the same Platform, but with a different Countenance to the Parties: For he, the better to help a lame Dog over the Style, cajol'd first the Dissenters, and promised them the greatest indulgence, whilst he was all the time discountenancing, and endeavouring to root out the Principles of the Church of *England.* The Application is evidently the same, the Dissenters then (as the Church now) would only have experienced the miserable Curtesie of *Polyphemus* to *Ulisses*, which was to be first reserv'd, to be last devour'd. It has never been the Practice of the *Church* of *England* to countenance Rebellion; it's Honour has never been tainted with that damnable Imputation, so contrary to it's holy Doctrine

and Purity: And shall we believe those its real Friends, who are at this Time drawing that Odium on it. And the better to carry on their Designs, had actually engaged to tolerate Popery among us, as well as to give up the greatest part of our Trade, and Liberty, to obtain Foreign assistance, to fix the Pretender on the Throne; when under the Power he was to be brought in by, it would not have been long before we should have seen Popery Establish'd by a heavy Hand. I mention this, because it is now no Secret that a PLOT has been discover'd, not only to bring in the Pretender, but to cover the Kingdom with Blood and Confusion: It was to have begun with Fire and Sword, and where it would have ended God knows: The Contrivers of, and such as were to have been the Chief Actors in it, call themselves *Members* of the *Church*; but sure I am, that since she has been a Church, she has neither been so dishonour'd and defil'd: By Men, who at the same time that they profess so much Zeal for her, and have the Blessed Bread and Wine of her holy Communion yet undigested in their Gorges, by solemn Oaths taken to a Protestant Prince, have impiously perjur'd themselves in favour of a Popish Pretender. I seriously beg of all good *Church-men* to consider, whether such persons, and such Practices are not to be detested and disown'd by all who profess themselves Christians; much more by those who value their Interest in being Members of the most incomparable *Church* (abstracted from the Principles of such Communicants) that the Universe has to boast of.

As I have mention'd these Things, which I wou'd not have my honest Country-men think I have done of my own Head, I shall desire of them to read the following Passages out of His Majesty's late Speech to his Parliament, which I cannot but think must give great Satisfaction to all who are not down-right prejudic'd in Favour of the Pretender, and to such I can only say, *God direct them better.*

"*It was scarce to be imagin'd, That any of my Protestant Subjects, who have Known and Enjoyed the Benefits of our Excellent Constitution, and have heard of the great Dangers they were wonderfully deliver'd from by the Happy Revolution, should by any Arts and Management, be drawn into Measures that must at once destroy their Religion and Liberties, and subject them to Popery and Arbitrary Power; but such has been our Misfortune, that too many of my People have been deluded, and made Instrumental to the* PRETENDER's *Designs, who had never dared to think of Invading us, or raising a*

Rebellion, had he not been Encouraged by the Success his Emissaries and Adherents have already had in stirring up Riots and Tumults, and by the farther Hopes they entertain of Raising Insurrections in many Parts of my Kingdoms.

The Endeavouring to perswade my People, That the Church of England *is in Danger under my Government, has been the main Artifice employ'd in carrying on this wicked and Traiterous Design:* THIS INSINUATION, AFTER THE SOLEMN ASSURANCES I HAVE GIVEN, AND MY HAVING LAID HOLD ON ALL OPPORTUNITIES TO do every THING that may TEND to the ADVANTAGE of the CHURCH *of* ENGLAND, IS BOTH UNJUST and UNGRATEFUL: *Nor can I believe so Groundless and Malicious a Calumny can make any Impression upon the Minds of my Faithful Subjects, or that they can be so far Misled, as to think the Church of* England, *is to be secured by Setting a Popish* PRETENDER *on the Throne.*"

After the Solemn Assurances I have given, says His Majesty, *and my having laid hold on all Opportunities to do every Thing that may tend to the* Advantage *of the Church of* England, *to be so used is most Unjust and Ingrateful.* And indeed, he may well say so; for no Prince since its first Establishment, has ever shewed more Affection to it, or given less Offence against it. These are Arguments which make his Title Just to us, as Protestants, as his undoubted Right and Descent in Blood does, in respect to our Laws, as Free-born English-Men.

As I have said, That His Majesty has signaliz'd His early Love to the Church in many Instances, I appeal to His gracious Messages to the Parliament, wherein he desires them to take effectual care to provide for the Compleating the Fifty new Churches; and likewise to settle Funds for employing able Ministers to preach therein: Our Bishops and Clergy, in full Convocation, have acknowledg'd his Affection to the Church; and as a later Instance, I take leave to quote to you a small part of the Address of the University of *Cambridge*, wherein they thank His Majesty for a Noble Library of Books which he presented to them.

"Most Gracious Sovereign,

WE *beg leave to approach Your Majesty with our most humble Thanks for the gracious Marks of Royal Favour which Your Majesty has bestow'd on your antient University of* Cambridge.

There never was an Occasion when we were either more desirous to express our Sentiments of Gratitude, or less able to do it to our own Satisfaction. The Genius of Learning which has for many Ages so happily presided in this Place, cannot furnish us with Language to utter what we feel. There is nothing to which even the Wishes of Your University extend that is not fully contained in the Happiness she now enjoys of calling Your Majesty her King, and her Patron: One is the common Blessing of every Britain; *the other the peculiar privilege of the Sons of Learning.*"

There are many other of the most Loyal and dutiful Expressions in the Address, but these are sufficient to shew, that those who are the best Judges of our Church's Security, do not treat His Majesty, as One under whom they imagine it to be in the least Danger. One Thing we have liv'd to see, which is pleasant enough, *viz.* Popish Lords, *&c.* taking Arms for the good of the Church; and hazarding their Lives and Estates in Conjunction with those who make that laudable **Cry** the Pretence of open Rebellion: But this, I hope, my Country-men will perceive to be a most Vile and Damnable CHEAT, and that Self-Interest, and down-right **Popery** is at the bottom of it all.

I will conclude therefore, with leaving it to your Choice, whether, as *English-men* and *Christians,* you will have a **Protestant** or a Papist? * A Prince who is Sworn to defend you against **Popery,** or an **Impostor,** who is sworn to defend Popery against you? And will soon set open all the Doors which St. *Peter's* Keys are capable to unlock, to let *Rome* and Hell, Fire, Sword and Persecution, in loose upon ye? It will avail but little then, to make Excuses, for we must all suffer in the general Calamity, and perhaps those who plead most Merit, will be the first that are ty'd to the Stake.

FINIS.

* *It is memorable in History, that the* Suffolk-*men were the first that espoused Queen* Mary's *cause, and help'd to place her on the Throne, yet were the first that suffered in the Persecution under her, where Multitudes of Men, Women and Children were burnt for their Religion.* (Original note.)

"INTER FOLIA FRUCTUS."

CONSIDERATIONS

UPON A

Printed Sheet

ENTITULED THE

SPEECH

Of the LATE

LORD RUSSEL

TO THE

SHERIFFS:

TOGETHER,

With the *PAPER* delivered by him

to Them, at the Place of Execution, on *July* 21. 1683.

LONDON:

Printed by *T. B.* for *Joanna Brome*

at the *Gun* in St. *Paul*'s Church-yard.

MDCLXXXIII.

"History is but the unrolled scroll of Prophecy."

—James A. Garfield.

Privately Printed

FOR THE CLARENDON HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

1884.

This edition is limited to 120 large paper and 400 small paper copies, issued only to members.

INTRODUCTION.

WILLIAM, Lord Russell, third son of the fifth Earl Russell and first Duke of Bedford, was born in 1639. In 1679, when Charles II. found it expedient to ingratiate himself with the Whigs, he was called to the Privy Council, but finding his party had not the king's confidence he soon resigned. In 1680 he presented the Duke of York as a recusant, and headed the members of Parliament who presented the Exclusion Bill to the House of Lords. Some of the Whig leaders, the Dukes of Monmouth and Argyle, Lords Russell, Essex, and Howard, and Algernon Sidney, formed a plan for a simultaneous rising in England and Scotland. Amongst these leaders different views prevailed, but Russell looked only for the exclusion of the Duke of York. He was, however, accused of having joined in the Rye House Plot, and on this pretext he was committed to the Tower, tried, condemned and executed in July 1683. His wife, lady Rachel Russell, daughter of the Earl of Southampton and widow of Lord Vaughan, acted as his amanuensis on his trial. She survived her husband 40 years. Her "Letters," which do equal honour to her heart and understanding, have been often reprinted.

The pamphlet here reprinted is extremely scarce; it was published by order of the Court.

G. C. GOLDSMID.

To the READER.

[IT is better to Obey God, then Man] *says the* Text [It is better to Obey the Devil then God] *says the* Comment. *And are not those People now in a Happy State, d'ye think, that know not One Step of the Way to Heaven* Themselves; *and have such* Interpreters *for their* Guides? **This** *is the* **True Form** of Godliness that Denies the **Power** of it; *And* **This** *the* Principle, *that, wherever it takes* Root, *loosens the* Foundations *of* Civil Government, *and* Obedience; *And makes way for the* Erecting *of a* Kingdom of Darkness *upon* Those Ruines. *There's a Great Deal in That same* Old Adage; [Where God has his Church, The Devil has his Chappel;] *for* Religion *is as well the* Pretence *of the* Worst *of Men, as it is the* Duty, *and* Business *of the* Best. *Where* Satan *cannot prevail for* Idolatry, *he'l content himself with* Heresy, *and* Schism; *And with the* dashing *of* One Altar *against* Another. *Where he cannot* Overthrow *the very* Ground *of our* Faith, *he'l Compound for* Liberty of Conscience; *And some* Plausible *ways of* Disguising *it. Next to the setting up of a* False **God**, *is the Begetting a* **False** Opinion *of the* **True** One; *Which is almost an* Equivalent; *Onely the* One's *a* Material; *And the* Other's *a* National Idol: *The* One's the work of our **Hands**; *And the* Other *of our* **Imagination.** *At this rate, it is, that we* Confound Realities, *and* Appearances; Fancy, *and* Conscience.

This may look perhaps as if I were quite Running away, both from my Reader, *and from my* Business: *But I am, in truth, upon the very* Point *of my* Subject. *What was it that Ruin'd that Unhappy Lord, (Whose Case is the Argument of*

this Paper; And whose Unhappy Fate, I Lament from my Soul *but the being* Bigotted *into* This Principle? *And what* Kingdom, *or* Government, *where it* Obtains, *is able to staud* against *it? If* Lucifer himself *were let* Loose, *he would* Preach *upon* That Scripture *of Mat.* 10. 28. *And* Pervert the Text. *This* Doctrine *of* Resistance *in case of* Religion, *is the* Source *of all our* Feares, *and* Jealousies, Seditions *and* Conspiracies; *Men that are* Drunk, *will* Sleep *themselves* Sober *again. We have* Bedlams *for* Lunaticks, Gibbets, Pillories, Whipping Posts, *and* Jayles *for* Common Criminals: *But there's* No Discipline, No Cure *for* Enthusiasts. *Is* Religion *at Stake? Bring in* [a Bill against the Duke of *York* to disable him from Inheriting the Imperial Crown.] *Is* Popery *the Question? Come to a* Resolution *Immediately*, [That if his Majesty shall come by any Violent Death, *(No matter who kills him)* it shall be Reveng'd upon the Papists.] *Is there a* Popish Plot? *'Tis but the* Bricoling *of a* True Protestant Association, *that upon the* False Bound *shall* Play *upon the* Government. *And then we are to Consider again, that* This Proposition *is not only an* Incentive *to a* Rebellion, *and a* Justification *of it: but it makes the* Concealment *of the* Conspirators *as much a point of* Conscience, *as the* Treason it self. *And how* Ridiculous *then is the* Pretence *of* Defending *that by* force, *which no* force *can* reach? *I never heard of any mans* Religion *yet that was taken away upon the* Pad.

Upon This Maxim *is Grounded all that is* Mischievous *or* Dangerous, *in the* Subject *of* These Considerations; *And I have* done *what I thought my* Duty *to* Do *in the* Exposing *of it.* These Papers *had come out* sooner, *but that I was* Trick'd *into a* Delay: *But* Julian is in the bottom on't; And I'le forgive any man that stands up for his Author.

CONSIDERATIONS

UPON A

PRINTED SHEET

ENTITULED THE

SPEECH

Of the LATE

LORD RUSSEL

To the SHERIFFS, &c.

I Have not set Pen to Paper upon this Subject, without first consulting all the Points of Decency and Duty, which I thought might properly fall within the Limits of this Discourse: As the Honour of a Noble Family; the Quality and Misfortune of an Eminent Person, together with matter of common Respect to *Truth*, *Justice*, *Christian Charity*, *Candor*, and *Good Manners:* Having no other end in these considerations, then to do a *Fair* and *Necessary Right* to the *Government*, within that *Compass;* I call it a *Right* to the *Government*, because there is not *one sound Part* in the whole *Body* of it, from *Head* to *Foot;* if this Paper may be Credited: And as the business has been *Managed* and *Improved*, [The Cry of Innocent Blood against Oppression and

Injustice,] would have been a *Title* much more Suitable to the *Air* and *Drift* of it, than that which it now bears. It carries the *Face* indeed of the *Testimony* of a *Dying Man:* But yet if a Body considers either the *Style*, the *Scope*, the *Declarative*, or the *Confessing Part* of it, there's nothing less in't: Not so much as *one Period*, without a *Starting-hole*, where there lyes any *stress* upon the *Truth*, either of the *Intention*, or of the *Fact* in *Question:* Now for this Vein to run *quite through* it in a *Constant Course* of *Reserve*, *Mystery* and *Disguise*, there needs no more to Prove, that it was *Designed* for an *Amusement*: for Methods never come by Chance; so that the *Artifice* is not wholly to be *Neglected;* and yet I shall not lay more *weight* upon't than the Thing will *bear*.

The *Two Points* in *Consideration* are the Speech and the Paper. Now some will have it that though the Speech was certainly my Lord *Russels*, there may be some doubt yet concerning the Paper that went along with it. And this Conjecture they ground upon the *Ambiguities* that Occur, both in the *Title*, and in the *Speech it Self*, which they Reason upon, after this manner. The Title, they say, tells us barely of the Delivery of it by my Lord *Russel:* And then in the Speech, there is not One *Syllable* more, concerning the *Paper* so *Deliver'd* than *These Numerical Words* [*Mr. Sheriff, I have set down in This Paper all that I think fit to leave behind me.*] My Lord does not first *Read* This *Paper* to the *Sheriff*, and then *Own* it. My Lord does not say [*Mr. Sheriff, The Contents of This Paper are True, in the whole and in every part of it, So Help me God.*] My Lord does not say, [*Mr. Sheriff, I do here deliver this Paper to you upon my* Death, *as the Truth, and the Full Truth of my Case.*] But my Lord says, [*I have* Set down *in This Paper.*] which Setting down imports no more than the *simple* Writing of it: And so goes forward [*All that I* Think fit *to leave behind me*] which might have been as well said, in this Case, if the Paper had been an *Act of Parliament*, instead of the *Testimony of a Dying Man.* And what's the meaning again of [*All that I think* fit] in This Place? These Words by a *Scotch Figure*, may signifie, as the Reader pleases; either *Any Thing*, or just *Nothing at All;* But however at a venture, a Man may conclude that there is something more yet, which he does *Not think fit to set down;* And *That*, for ought any Body knows, may be *All* that is worth *setting down*; Or (which is the same thing) *All* that the Reader will find missing in *This Paper.* And then, why [Leave behind me?] (they say) unless

in the *Literal Sense*, That *I do not carry it with me;* for there's no *Attestation* Annex'd to't; No *Solemnity* of *Acknowledgment* or *Protestation* to Accompany the *Delivery* of it; no *Circumstance* to make it a *Memorial* of any thing more than the Transferring of the *Paper* out of *One* hand into *Another*; insomuch, that the matter lies at *Fast* or *Loose* whether *this Paper* shall be *Reputed my Lords Act* or *no.*

My Answer is, that this Paper was Written by my Lord, Subscribed by my Lord, Delivered by my Lord; and that by these *Visible Solemnities* it became *My Lords Act.*

It was Manifestly *My Lords* Intention that it should be Taken for *His Act;* And it is but *Common Justice* to *allow* and to *understand* it so to be. It has been likewise *Published* and *made use of* by some of my Lords nearest Relations, As *my Lords Act*, and with Infinite *Zeal* for his Lordships *Advantage* and *Behoof.* Now after all these *Authoritative* and *Punctual Formalities* of Proceeding, there is not any Man that has a Tenderness for the *Memory* of that *Unhappy Person*, but would rather *Entitle* him to this Paper, (how ill contriv'd soever) than charge him, on the other hand, with *double dealing* and *mental Reservations* at his *Last Hour;* As if his *dying Thoughts* had been only taken up with Studying how to lead *People* into the *dark;* and to *amuse* the World with a *Riddle*, never to be *unfolded*, after the Closing of his Lordships Eyes, till the Day of *Judgment;* But let every Man take it which way he pleases, it comes, in my Opinion, to the same Issue at last; That is to say, Take the *Speech* and the *Paper*, Together; or take them apart, 'tis much at one.

[*God knows* (says the Speech) *how for I was always from Designs against the Kings Person, or of Altering the Government.*]

This Passage now according to the sincerity of *Popular Usage* and *Construction* is as much as to say [*God knows it, I was ever against these ways;*] but then if a Man looks at it through a pair of *Reformation-Spectacles*, 'tis a meer *deceptio visus;* and there is nothing at all to be seen; for a body may be up to the *Ears* in a *Design*, and yet Cry out with a *safe conscience* [*God knows how far I am against it.*] But there follows another Clause that seems to come closer a great deal, *i.e.*

[*In the Words of a* Dying Man, *I Profess I know of no Plot, either against the* Kings Life, *or the* Government.]

These Words, in *plain, honest English* ought to pass for *Current*, and as good as *Sterling* betwixt Man and Man; but he that reads them with a *Kirk Comment*, will put them to All *Touches* and *Tests*, if he be *wise*, before he *Receives* them. [I Never knew *of any Plot*] would have been much *Fuller* and much *Homer* to the *Indictment*, than [I know *of no Plot*;] For the neck of it is now broken; and it is no longer in *Being*. And then in the *Restraining* of that Disclaimer, to the *Kings* Life, or the Government; There's a *Salvo* left yet for the *Seizing of the* Guards, and for the Imprisoning, Deposing, or doing any other *Indignity* to the *King*, short of his Life. And *All This* without any Change of *Government* too; for the *Monarchy* is the *Same* still, though the *Crown* perhaps may be *Translated* from *One Head* to *Another*. Thus we see, Every *Line's* a *Snare:* But I can never believe, that my Lord spake these *Words* with the Intention of him that Penn'd them, but rather that Unhappily he took the *Paper* by *Content*, and without much *Examining*, either the *Stamp*, or the *Mettle pay'd it out* again as he *Receiv'd* it. In One word, *Somebody else Prepar'd* the *Poyson*, Put it into my *Lords hand* for a *Cordial*, and his Lordship Deliver'd it over to the *People:* Not but that upon the main of my Lords *Tryal*, *Sentence* and *Execution*, as the *Strictness* of the *Method* was *Absolutely Necessary*, so the *Process* was managed with all possible *Respect* and *Justice*.

We come now to the *Paper it Self*, which in several Places looks liker the *Character* of a *Primitive Christian* Expos'd to the *Lyons* in a *Roman Theatre;* or That of an *Unfortunate Heroe* in the Field, than the *Figure* of a Person under the *double Calamity* of such a *Cause* and such a *Sentence*.

[*I reckon This as the Happiest Time of my Life, the Others may look upon it as the saddest.*]

Can any Man living that has *Flesh* and *Blood* about him, understand This *Hyperbole* according to the Letter, especially under the Circumstances of such *Mortal Mistakes* and *miserable Illusions?* What could a *Martyr* at the *Stake*, under a Guard of *Angels* have said *Greater* than *This?* And here's *The Arrow drawn to the Head* again.

[*The Importunity of my Friends, and particularly of the best, and dearest* Wife *in the* World, *prevailed with me to* sign Petitions, *and make an* Address *for my Life; To which I was very* Averse; *For (I thank God) though in all Respects I have lived One of the Happiest, and Contentedst Men of the World, (for now very near Fourteen Years) yet I am* so *willing to leave all, that it was not without Difficulty that I did any Thing for the saving of my Life; that was* Begging.]

How strangely has the *Author* of This Paragraph mistaken his *Proportions!* To *draw* the *Character* of a *Seraphical, Resigning Christain* from the *Copy* of a *Stomackful, hussing Cavalier*, and to talk of the *Last Test* of a *Dying Mans Religion* and *Profession*, as if there were no more in't than a *vain Punctilio*, upon a point of *Honour* in a *Sword-man*. Is it become a *Shame* for a *Delinquent* to Acknowledg his *Fault?* For a *Condemn'd Person* to Pray for a *stop* to the *Execution* of *Justice?* For a *Subject* that by his own *Confession* has done *amiss*, to *beg Pardon* of his *Sovereign?* How long has it been a point of either *Bravery*, or *Conscience*, for a man to be so Averse to the *Saving of his Life*, as to oppose the *only Proper* and *possible* (nay the *Lawful* and *Honourable) means* of *preserving it?* A *Petition* in *This* Case, is so far, methinks, from Needing, either a *Secondary Motive* to the *Inducing* of it, or an *Excuse* for the *doing* of it, That, without being wanting to *Himself*, his *Family*, and his *Friends*, I cannot see how he could have *Declin'd* it. My *Lords Signing* of the *Whole*, has made him become *Answerable* for every *Part*; But these *High Flights* were Undoubtedly the *Strokes* of Another Pen, that took more Care to *Advance* and *Support* the *Credit* of a *Faction* than to keep within the Bounds of *Sobriety* and *Decorum*, in respect of his Lordships *State* and *Condition*. There are several Dashes besides too, that seem to be *Influenc'd by the* same Genius; and *Written* and *Publish'd* with the same *Design*; and with no more Regard neither, to the *Case* of the *Person*, or to the *Pretence* of the *Paper*.

[*I wish with all my Soul* (says the Paper) *All our Unhappy Differences were Removed; and that All* sincere Protestants *would so far Condsider the* Danger *of* Popery *as to lay aside their* Heats, *and* Agree *against the* Common Enemy; *and that the* Church-men *would be less* severe, *and the* Dissenters *less* scrupulous; *for I think* Bitterness *and* Persecution *are at all times* Bad, *but much more*, NOW.]

'Tis true; My Lords *Hand* makes *This Clause* my Lords *Act* again: But He that *Penn'd* it, thought of nothing less, upon the *Drawing of it up*, than my Lords *Bus'ness:* For what's a **public Reformation** to a **private Confession?** Here's a Gentleman, *Agonizing in Extremis*, brought-in with an *Expedient* in his Mouth against *Popery*. What's **Toleration, Comprehension, Association,** (for that's his Proposal) to a Man that's brought to his *last Miserere*; and upon the *Critical* and *Final Discharge* of his *Soul* to *Almighty God?* Here's a *Christian* under the *Instant*, and the *Indispensable Obligation* of *Forgiving all Mankind*, brought in (with his *last Gasp* betwixt his *Teeth*) *Arraigning* both *Church* and *State*; with *Cruelty* and *Persecution*. And what's the *Severity* of the *Church men* that He *Complains* of? And what's the *Persecution*; but the *Executing* of the *Laws* upon *Others:* And *living* in a *Dutiful Obedience* to them, *Themselves!* [*Persecution* (he says) is **ever Bad,** *but much more*, NOW.] What an *Emphatical Note* is it that This *Critical* [NOW] should be pitched upon for the *Season* of *Indulging* the *Dissenters;* which *They* have chosen out for the *Season* of taking *Possession* of the *Government?* But the *Humour* is *Carried on;* and there's a great deal more of the same Stuff still.

[*For* Popery, *I look on it as an* Idolatrous *and* bloody Religion; *and therefore thought my self bound* [**in my Station**] *to do All I could against it; and by that, I foresaw I should Procure such Great Enemies to my self; and so* powerful Ones; *That I have been now for some time Expecting the worst; and* blessed be God, *I fall by the* **Axe,** *and not by the* **Fiery Tryal.**]

The *First Period* has in it, the very *Style*, as well as the *Doctrine* of the *Old Covenant*. There's the *Doctrine* of *Resistance* in't; with an *Allowance* (nay and an *Obligation*) for evary man to be *Seditious* [**in his Station.**] The *Second Period* MEANS, That my Lord *Russel* fell under the *Revenge* of the Duke of *York* for *Promoting the Bill of Exclusion*. This Clause had my Lords *General Assent* as well as the *Rest;* but in *Conscience* and in *Charity*, I do firmly perswade my self, That it was *gain'd* by a *Surprize*, when the *Disorder* of His Lordships *Thoughts*, and the *shortness* of *Time*, perhaps would not bear much *Deliberation*; For whereas the *Death* of This *poor Gentleman* is *Invidiously* Charg'd upon the *Duke*, **for his Opposing Popery**; the *Duke Himself* was to have been *Murder'd* (nay and the *King* too)

by the **Pretending** *Anti-Papal Party;* and it was my Lords heavy Lot to Fall under the *Fate* of That *Conspiracy.* And the *Bare Murder* was not *All* neither; for Those that call themselves the **True Protestants,** were to have Done the *horrid Fact:* (And according to the *Vote*) *to have reveng'd it upon the* **Papists.** The *Pen-man* after This, makes the Unhappy Gentleman to *Bless God, That he fell by the* **Axe,** *not the* **Faggot;** when yet at the same time, so far was the *Faction* from *dreading* the *King*, the *Duke* and the *Government*, that *Those very People* that made the Greatest *Noise* with their **Fears, Jealousies** and **Apprehensions** were themselves *United in a Conspiracy to Blow up All,* **in one common Ruine.** Now fore the matter of *Foresight* and *Expectation* of Mischief; it is no wonder for Men that run *desperate Courses* to live in the *Apprehension* of *Dangerous Effects.*

[*I did believe* (says the Paper) *and I* **Do still,** *That* Popery is Breaking-in upon the Nation; *and that Those who Advance it, will stop at nothing to carry on their Designs. I am heartily sorry, that so many* **Protestants** *give their* **Helping-Hand** to it.]

Was there ever such a *Reckoning* cast up betwixt the *Great God* and a *miserable Sinner*, and not *One Moment* left to set things *Right* in, betwixt *That* and his appearance at the *last Tribunal?* Here's not so much as *One Syllable* all this while, to my Lords *Case*, but only *Clamours* for fear of *Popery; Invectives* against the *Pretended Bringers of it in; Legal Protestants* turn'd over into the *Popish Calendar;* and all this while, the **Persecuted Persons** are the **Aggressors.** God forgive the Man, whoever it was (*if he has not sinn'd unto Death*) that wrought upon my Lord to Own this *Enflaming Paper.* And I cannot but hope, in Charity yet, that betwixt the *Delivery* of it and the *Stroke*, his Lordship *Repented* of the *Temerity*, and found a *Place* for *Mercy.*

But to spell a little upon *These Words* [*I* **Did** *Believe, and I* **Do still,** &c.] He does not say upon what *Grounds;* He *Propounds* no *Remedy; Offers* no *Proof:* We hear nothing by whom it is to be *brought-in*, or by *what means:* But it seems, there are both *Papists* and *Protestants* in the *Confederacy.* Why does he not tell us who they *are*, of *Both Sorts?* Or if it be only a bare *Conjecture*, methinks the *King* and his *Council* should be able to see as far into This Bus'ness as the *Prevaricator:* Or let it be as it will, I challenge the

World to shew any One *Colourable Reason* for the Printing of it, that's Honest: To give the Adviser his due, This Paper was never Calculated either for my *Lords* Cause or Service, any further than to make use of his *Name* as a *Vehicle*, to convey the *Spirits* of this *Venom* into all the Corners of his Majesties Dominions. But he goes forward.

[*I hope God will preserve the Protestant Religion, and This Nation: Though* I am afraid *it will fall under* very great Tryals, *and very* Sharp sufferings. *And indeed the* Impiety *and* Profaneness *that abounds and appears so scandalously Barefaced every where, gives too just reason to fear the worst things which can befall a People. I pray God prevent it, and give those who have shewed concern for the* Publick Good, *and who have appeared* Hearty *for the* True Interest *of the Nation, and the* Protestant Religion, *Grace to live so, that they may not cast a Reproach on that which they endeavour to Advance.*]

God deliver *me* from a *Confessour*, at my last Hour, that when I have but *one Moment* left to make my *Peace* with *God* in, shall put me upon employing that very *Instant* in casting *Fire-Balls* into a Nation, to set *Three Kingdoms in a Flame:* And instead of *shrifting* my *own Conscience*, to be *Raking* in the *Puddle* of the *Iniquities* of my *Neighbours*. What's the *End* of these *Terrifying Alarums*, but to *Gall* and *Teize* the *People*, without any hope of *Remedy*, unless by flying to that *Damned Principle* of *Conditional Obedience*, to *Embrue* my hands in the *Bloud* of my *Soveraign?* What's the *English* of this same [Publick-Good] here; Appearing [Hearty] The [True Interest of the Nation] and the [Protestant Religion?] What is it, but the *Old Cause* in a *New Dress*; And the direct *Encouragement* of a *Schism* and *Sedition*, against the *Authority* both of *Church* and *State?* And then here's still the *never-failing Topique* at hand, of Impiety and Profaneness with a *Characteristical Note* of the other Party; As men *Concerned* for the Publick-Good, Hearty for the True Interest, and the Protestant Religion; under which Notion, the *Shammer* of this *Paper* upon my *Lord*, did beyond all controversy, *Intend* the Conspirators: For it does not only answer his *Ordinary Description* of them; but he would have told us in *Plain Terms*, if he had meant *otherwise*, or at least he would have cast in as much *Schism* and *Rebellion* into the *other Scale* as would have kept the *Ballance* Even. Not but that the *Sedition* and *Profaneness* are now (God be thanked for it) come to be *both of a side.* And here again;

[*What ever Apprehensions I had of* Popery, *and of my own severe and heavy share I was like to have under it, when it should prevail; I never had a thought of doing anything against it* Basely *or* Inhumanely; *but what could well Consist with the* Christian Religion, *and the* Laws *and* Liberties of this Kingdom. *And thank God, I have* Examined *all my Actings in that matter with so great Care, that I can appeal to* God Almighty, *who knows my Heart, that I went on* Syncerely, *without being moved either by* Passion, By-end, *or* Evil-Design.]

We are still upon the *same Train* of **Uncertainties** and **Generals.** Why should *My Lord* have these *Apprehensions*, by reason of *His opposing Popery?* When the **King**, the **Church**, and the **Laws of the Land** are against Introducing the Religion of the Church of *Rome*, as much as *His* **Lordship.** But if the **Paper** *means* **One** *Popery*, and the **Law Another**; (As 'tis clear by the *Context* of it, that the *Church-Protestants* and the *Papists* are to be blown up into the Air *Together)* the *Pretext* of *Religion* is *Degenerated* into a *Point-blank Sedition:* And every man that Suffers for *Treason*, shall presently at this rate be made a *Martyr* for the *Reformation.* And again, will the *Composer* of this Paper have my Lords *Suffering* in this Case, to be an Argument that **Popery Prevails**; because his Lordship *foresaw the Hard Measure he was likely to have, in Case it should prevail?* Neither will the *Lawfulness* of *opposing Popery*, in any sort, *Excuse* the *Doing* of it by *Unlawful means.* There must be no *Seizing of Guards* in the Case; The *Fear* of a *False Religion* is no *Defence*, either before *God* or *Man*, for the *Violence* of an *Actual Rebellion.* How much *more Forcible* then is the *Condition* of **Our Present Instance**; where the *very men* that pretend to *Fear Popery*, are so far from *Fearing it* **Indeed**, that it is *one Branch* of the *Conspiracy* to **say** they *Fear* it: A *Second*, to give it out, that the **Papists** are about to *Kill the King*; And at the same time, to *Resolve* to do it **Themselves**: And the last Round of the Ladder, is, by *Consent*, so soon as ever they have *Executed* the *Villany*, to make *Proclamation* that the **Papists** did it. But now we come to the *Deplorable Nicety* of my *Poor Lords Case*; which, in *Appearance*, seems to well nigh the *Single Proposition*, wherein the *Confessour* and the *Penitent* agreed; And this was it, which cost both *Himself*, and that *Noble Family*, so Dear.

Popery was to be *Opposed* it seems, but not **Basely** or **Inhumanely**; The *Guards* were not to be *Massacred* or *Killed* in their *Beds*; But

if the same thing in Effect might have been done Bravely, and Sword in Hand, I see nothing in this Paragraph to the contrary, but that in substance it might have been Justifyed; for BASELY and INHUMANLY are the Two only Exceptions that I find to the doing of it: And they do *Tacitly Imply* a kind of **Approbation** of the *Thing*, Provided it might have heen done in a way of *Reputative Generosity* and *Honour*; for here's no *Regard* either **Had** or so much as **Intimated** in *That Particular*, to the *Laws* either of *God* or of *Man*.

There follows indeed a kind of *Restriction* (by way of a *Salvo*) That the *Proceeding* ought to hold a **Consistent with the** Christian Religion, **and the** Laws, **and** Liberties **of this** Kingdom.] And where are we *then*? If *Julian* the *First* and the *Second*; If *Apostates*, and the *Common Betrayers* of *Kings*, *Masters* and *People*, shall be made the *Judges* of *That Christian Religion*: Or *Hunt* and *Ferguson*, the *Arbitrators* of our *Common Rights?* Oh how I curse the First Minute that ever gave Admittance to any of these *Mutinous* and *Sanguinary Levites*, any of these *Popular* or *Seditious Boutefeus*, under the *Roof* of that *Honourable House! Hinc illæ Lachrimæ!* for *That mistaken Principle* was the *Root* of all this *Evil*; And the *Main Incentive*, (I perswade my self) to the doing of *Many ill Things* by the *Impulse* of *That Delusion*: Had not a Man better have a *Cloven Foot* in's House, then one of these *Cloven Tongues?* The *Devil*, *Barefaced*, puts a Man to his *Prayers*; He *Summons* up his *Resolutions*, and *Implores* a *Powerful* and a *Merciful God* for his *Assistance*, with a *Horrour* all this while, for the *Character* and the *Company* of his *Seducer*; But in the *Other* Case, the Man *Abandons* himself to the *Impostor*; *Consults no other Oracle*, but takes his *Enemy* into his *Arms*, and *Opens* his *Heart* for the *Spirit of Errour* to *Enter* in, and take *Possession* of him, *Pins* his *Faith* upon the *Sleeve* of his *Guide*, and *Swallows* the *Ruine*, both of *Body*, *Soul*, and *Estate*, with *Greediness*. He takes the *Broad Way* for the *Narrow*, &c. God Deliver all *Honest Men* out of the *Clutches* of *these Parasitical* and *Rapacious Hypocrites!* The *Dictator* of this Paper says, that [*My Lord Examined all his Actings*:] And truly so much the *Worse*, if they were *Examined* by Applying them to *False Rules* and *Measures*: And then he Vouches for the **Syncerity** of my Lords Heart, which *Syncerity* avails little too, if it be founded upon a *wrong Principle*: And no *Purgation* at all, neither, of his *Innocency*, in case of an *Erroneous Judgment*.

Now to *Close* this *Remarque;* the whole *Paragraph* is *Mystery;* and there may be Wrapt under it, what *Meaning* soever the *Reader* shall find Reasonable to *Impose* upon it: for a thing may be *Contrary* to the *Laws* both of *Heaven* and *Earth*; and yet in *His Sense* neither **Base** nor **Inhumane**. *Julian* and *Hunt*, make that which the *Law* calls *Rebellion*, to be *Consistent with our Laws, Liberties* and *Religion:* And then for the [**Examining** *of his Actings*] My Lords *Monitor* knows that *Ravillac* did as much; and in his own *Private Thoughts, Approved* them too. *Our Regicides* here at *Home* did the same thing, and yet their *Actions*, never the *Better*, or the more *Warrantable* for having stood *That Tryal.* We'l come now to his *Reflections upon* the *Bill* of *Exclusion.*

[*I cannot but give some Touch about the* Bill of Exclusion, *and shew the Reasons of my appearing in that bus'ness, which in short is this: That I thought the Nation was in such danger of* Popery, *and that the* Expectation *of a* Popish Successor (*as I have said in Parliament*) *put the* Kings Life *likewise in such danger, That I saw no way so effectual to secure Both, as such a* Bill. *As to the* Limitations, *which were proposed, if they were* **syncerely** offered, *and had passed into a* Law; *the* Duke *then would have been* Excluded *from the* Power *of a* King, *and the* Government *quite* altered, *and little more than the* Name *of a* King *left. So I could not see either Sin or Fault in the One, when all people were willing to admit of t'other; but thought it better to have a* King *with his* Prerogative, *and the* Nation easie *and* safe *under him, than a* King without *it, which must have bred* Perpetual Jealousies *and a* Continual Struggle. *All this I say, only to justifie my self, and* [not to enflame Others,] *though I cannot but think,* my **Earnestness** in That **Matter** has had no small influence in my **present Sufferings**.]

With Honour to my *Lords Reasons* for the *Bill;* the *Best* and the *Truest Reason* that ever I met with for't, was This; That the *Exclusion* of the *Duke* would certainly draw the *Crown* after it; and that the *Suppression* of **Monarchy** and **Episcopacy** was the *Best Expedient*, that ever was heard of, for the *Preventing* of **Tyranny** and **Popery**; so that the *Disease* was expressly *invented* for the *sake* of the *Remedy:* In the **Parliament-Case**, the **Kings** Life, it seems, was in *danger* for the **Successors** sake: And in the **Plot-Case**, the **Successors** Life was in *danger*, for the **Kings** *sake:* There were *Limitations* offer'd (he says) but whether SYNCERELY *offer'd* or **not**, he makes a *Question*, (for

which his Majesty owes him a Thousand Thanks) but whether the *One* or the *Other*, they were however very heartily *Rejected*; and he gives This *Reason* for't. They would have left the *Duke* only the Name of a *King*, without the Power; But *my Lords Prompter* was Resolv'd, that the *Duke* should either have All or None; and that the *Heir* should be quite struck off rather than the Crown Maim'd. Now upon *This Consideration;* (and for the *saving* of the *Prerogative*, and for the *Ease* of the *People*,) The *Paper-Writer* Absolves my Lord from either *Sin* or *Fault*, in the bus'ness of the *Bill;* forgetting upon *set Purpose* on his Lordships behalf, That my Lord had *Promoted* the *Bill* before ever these *Limitations* were thought of. Touching the *Influence* that my Lords *Earnestness in That matter* might have upon his *After-Sufferings;* I shall easily Agree with the *Supposer* of it, That there might be something in't; for the *Project* of *Secluding* the *Duke*, was a *Limb* of that *Design*, which afterwards grew up into a *Form'd Conspiracy*, and Unhappily brought This mistaken Lord to his *End.* But to impute any *part* of my Lords *Sufferings* to the *Malice* of a *vindictive Spirit*, for what he either said, or did, in *Parliament*, would lye open to so many *Disproofs* and *Contradictions*, that there is not place for any man in *sound Sense* so much as to *imagine* it. My Lord most Unfortunately fell into a *Cabal* of *Male-Contents;* frequented their *Meetings;* joyn'd with them in their *Councils.* There was a *Conspiracy* Carry'd on, which, by the Mercy of God was seasonably *Detected:* My Lord, with others, *Apprehended* upon it; brought to a Fair *Tryal*, the Matter Legally *Prov'd*: And his *Lordship Himself*, not able to Deny the *Substance* of the *Charge.* Upon This, he was found *Guilty*, *Sentenced* and put to *Death.* And what's *All This* to any *Court-Influence of Revenge*, for his Lordships *Earnestness* about the *Bill?* But we have taken up an opinion in these late Times, as if the putting of an *Indignity* upon *The Heir of the Crown* were enough to make a Man *Shot-free*, and HARD, as they say, And that the 25 *Edw.* s 3. could never *Touch* him after.

But as I was saying just now, The *Faction* had *Two Capital Designs* in Contemplation; the *One* was the Destroying of the *Duke* and the *King:* And the *Other* was the Destroying of the *King* and the *Duke.* The *Former* was to have been *Executed* by Bill; and the *Other* by Gun-shot The *Passing* of the *Bill* had absolutely done the *Work;* but in a way of form, and by Votes and Ordinances, which we have found to be every jot as *sure*, as Protestant Flayles or

Blunderbusses. For *One Disinherison* opens a *Gap* to *Another.* And when they have once got the *Trick* of *Putting by* a *Successor*, whom they do not **like**; 'tis Fifty to One, the *Humour* will take them of *liking* **no Successor at all**; and so by *Degrees*, there will follow a *Transition* from a *Dislike* of the **Person** to a *Dislike* of the **Government**: And the **Monarchy itself** will be found as Great a *Grievance*, as the **next Heir.** When they are once entered upon this *Train* of *Reformation*, there will be care taken that we shall never want *more work for the Tinker;* till the *New State-Menders* may come to have the *stopping* of *Those Holes* that they *made* **Themselves**: All *Councellors* shall be **Popish**, all *Ministers* and *Officers*, the *Guards*, the *Militia*, and *all persons whatsoever* in any Station of *Trust* and *Power*, they shall be *Papists* or *Popishly-affected*, **every Man of 'em**; saving such only as shall stand the *Test* of a *Secret Committee.* Now by this time we are within *One Remove* of a *True Protestant Commonwealth:* There is *One Question* that I have put at least a dozen times already, without Receiving so much as the least Pretence to an *Answer:* And I shall offer it once again to the Consideration of the **Exclusion-Men,** Let any Man shew me *One Argument*, that strikes upon the *Succession* of the *Duke*, which does not *equally Operate* upon the *King* in *Possession* too. For the *same Popery* that *unqualifies* the *Lawful successor* for the **Inheritance** of *Sovereign Power*, does as well *Unqualify* the *present Occupant* for the **Exercise** of it: As it is an *Equal Sin*, in the sight of God, the *Destroying* of a *Child* in the *Womb*, or the *Squeezing of the Brains out* when it comes into the *World.*

Consider now again, that as the *King* was to be wounded through the **Duke,** so long as matters were to be Carryed on with a Countenance of *Authority*, *Law*, and *Conscience;* so the *Duke* was to be NOW wounded through the *King*, when they found themselves driven upon a *Forc'd Put*, and to the making of an *Attempt* by *Violence:* but still they were **Both** to be *destroyed*, **Both ways**; only, *vice versa;* the *Duke* to go *first* in a **Parliamentary-way**: And (as *Hone* said) the *King* to go *first* in an *assassinating way.* But what's All this still to the Case of a **Dying-Man?** I shall proceed now.

[*From the time of Chusing Sheriffs, I Concluded the Heat in That Matter would produce something of This kind; and I am not surprized to find it fall upon* **Me**; *and I wish what is done to Me may put a*

Stop, *and* satiate some Peoples Revenge; *and that no more* **innocent** Blood *be shed*; *for I must, and do still look upon* MINE *as* SUCH; *since* **I know I was guilty of no Treason**; *and therefore I would not Betray my* Innocence *by* Flight, &c.]

It was *well judg'd*, that the *City Ryots* would probably [*produce something of this kind*] that is to say, *Conspiracies* and *Revolutions* of *Tumults* and *Rebellion*: And the *Evil Genius at my Lords Elbow*, does well enough *Observe* that there was no great matter of *Surprize* in't; for my Lord that was *Embarqu'd* in the *same Vessel*, to take his Part in the *same Storm*. But how comes *Legal Justice* to be call'd [**some Peoples Revenge?**] Or why may not *All Criminals* whatsoever, that fall under the dint of the *Law*, Arraign the *Justice* of the *Nation*, upon the *same Terms?* It does no more hold, on the *One* side, that the **City-heats** should make my Lord **guilty**, than on the *Other*, that they should make him **innocent**; neither do *Those Distempers*, in any sort, fall within the Prospect of *This Question:* Beside, That *this way of Reasoning* inverts the very *Nature*, and *Tendency* of them: For they are here represented as a *subservient Medium* toward the Advancing of a *Popish Interest*, when the *Contrary* is as clear as *Day:* And that it was a *Republican* and a *Phanatical Spirit* that stir'd up, and Animated All those *Broils;* and that they did it upon such *Grounds* and *Principles* too, as shook the very *Monarchy itself.* But if my Lord drew any *Ill Bodings* to *himself* from *Those Disorders*, it was by a *Prophetical Foresight* of the *Fatal Miscarriages* of the *Sedition* that was then a *Brewing:* and of his own *Unhappy share* in the *Misadventure.* We have spoken already to the point of *Revenge*, and we shall speak further to his *Lordships Innocence* in the due Place; as to his [*Averseness to the betraying of his Innocency by Flight,*] either the *Inference* is not *Good;* or else, *All Those* that are *Fled* are *Guilty.* The Paper says, that he was [*Guilty of no Treason,*] but the *Judges* were of *One* Opinion, and my Lords *Councel* of *Another.*

[*I know* (says the Author of the Paper) *I said but little at the Tryal, and I suppose it looks more like* Innocence *than* Guilt.]

Can it be imagin'd, that my Lord did not *Defend himself* as well as he *could?* And it is the First *Time* perhaps, that ever *saying little* to

an *Accusation*, was made an *Argument* of a *Man's Innocence:* But of this hereafter, and so I shall go forward.

[*I pray God* (says the Paper) *lay not this* [my Condemnation] *to the Charge, neither of the Kings Counsel, nor Judges, nor Sheriffs, nor Jury; and for the Witnesses, I pity them, and wish them well; I shall not reckon up the Particulars, wherein they did me wrong, I had rather their own Consciences should do that; to which, and the Mercies of God I leave them.*]

Here's a most *scandalous Defamation* thrown out against the *Kings Counsel*, the *Judges*, *Sheriffs*, *Jury*, and *Witnesses*, all at a *Cast*; though the *Manage* was so *Fair* in *All Respects*, that the *Justice* and *Patience* of the *Court* was Acknowledged by the very *Zelotes* of the *Party* themselves: They could not but *Confess*, that the *Tryals* were *Candid* and *Clear;* they were heard at *Large;* the *Proofs indubitable*, and *secouded* by their *Own Confessions.* But I must Observe again, that this Paper makes them *Guilty*, only by a *Figure*, and prays for them without charging them. It *Prays* for the *Witnesses*, [*wherein they did my Lord wrong;*] but he is not pleas'd to reckon up the *Particulars:* Nor is it said, that *they* did him *any wrong at all.* The *Penman* will not charge my *Lords Conscience* with *Averring* any thing that is *False;* but he has *Colour'd* it so, as to make the *People* Believe he had *wrong done* him, and that will do as well. He leaves the *Particulars*, however, [to their *own Consciences and Gods Mercys:*] so that, in short, This Paper is only a *Scotch Mist* from one End to the Other. There's a *bold Insinuation* of *Injustice;* but not One *Syllable* in *Proof*, or so much as to *Colour* it.

But we'le put the Case now that my Lord had *really suffer'd* All the *Wrong* he *Complains* of; 'tis true, it was the Part of a *Generous Christian* to close his Eyes with St. *Stephens Prayer;* but then the Printing of that *Prayer* stands in a *Direct Opposition* to the seeming *Piety* and *Resignation* of it; for it lays *Innocent Blood* to the *Charge* of the *Government:* And *Exposes* the *Administrators* of it to the uttermost *Rage* and *Fury* of the *Multitude*, as the most *Abominable Monsters* upon the Face of the *Earth;* and All this, without the least *Thought*, *Hope*, or *Possibility* of any *Other Benefit* by it, than the *Tearing* of All to *pieces*, and the making of *This Paper* to do the *work* of the *Conspiracy.* Can any body think that his Lordship would

not have laid his *finger* upon the wrong, if he had *suffered* any? Or that if he could (as he says) have *reckon'd up* any *Particulars*, that he would not have done it? He says in another Place,

[*I do freely forgive All the World, particularly those concern'd in taking away my Life; and I desire and Conjure my Friends to think of no Revenge.*]

The Words are only the *same* Prayer with the *Former*, turned into Sin (as the *Prophet David* says) but manag'd *Another way:* And the *short English* of this *Ejaculation* is *a Prayer to Almighty God to forgive his* Murderers; with an intent to cast the *Guilt* of shedding *Innocent Blood* now a *Second Time* upon the *Ministers of Justice?* And what does the *Artificial Hypocryte* that *Penn'd* this *Paper*, but in the very *Act* of *Conjuring my Lords Friends to think of no Revenge*, Do all that is possible by this Printed Appeal, to draw on a publick Vengeance from the Irritated and Seditious Rabble. And once again now.

[*I never pretended to a Great Readiness in Speaking, I wish those Gentlemen of the Law, who have it, would make more* Concience *in the use of it, and not run Men down by Strains and Fetches, Impose on Easie and willing Juries to the Ruine of* Innocent Men, *for to kill by Forms and Subtelties of Law is the worst Sort of* Murder: *But I wish the Rage of hot Men and the* Partiality *of Juries* may be stopped *with my* Blood, *which I would offer up with so much the more* JOY, *if I thought I should be the last here to suffer in such a way.*]

This is only a strain and a fetch (as the papers says) for the running the same *Scandal* over again, with a little varying the *Phrase.* Who are those *Unconscionable Gentlemen of the Law? Whom* do they run *down?* What are the strains and fetches? Or where are the *Easie* and *willing Juries?* The *Ruined Innocents?* Or the Murders according to *Art?* The *Outrageous Men*, and the *Partial Juries?* The *People* are to understand this to be my *Lords Case*, though the *Author himself* has not the Face to *make* it so, either on the *One* side, or on the *Other;* and then he has wrought the *Character* too *High*, in the Expression of my Lords *Offering up his Blood* [with the more Joy] instead of the less Trouble or *Affliction;* and *Concludes* with the laying of *Innocent Blood* again to the Charge of the *Govern-*

ment. Upon the whole matter, this is only more and more *Calumny*, and *Iniquity* added to *Iniquity*. Whosoever suggested *this Dictate* to his Lordship, might have minded him of those very *Gown-men* and *Furies*, that he speaks of, within the Memory of Man: and of a *Time*, when People were Destroy'd, not only by *Forms* and *Subtleties* of *Law*, but by *meer Noise* and *Tumult:* and to the End, that nothing may be wanting to the filling up the *Measure of the Scandal;* the *King Himself* comes in for his share too, when he prays [*that He may be* [INDEED] *the Defender of the Faith*] implying That he is only so as yet in *shew* and *Title*. It may be another Question now, in what Creed we are to look for *That Faith*, which the Contriver of this Paper would have his Majesty to *Defend:* Or in what Part of Dr. *Burnet's History of the Reformation*, a body may be sure to find it.

[*I have Liv'd* (he says) *and now Dye of the* Reformed Religion; *A true and sincere* Protestant, *and in the Communion of the* Church of England, *though* I *could never yet comply with, or rise up to all the Heights of many People.*]

That is to say, I am not of the Church of *Rome in General*, not a *Papist*, but a *Protestant*, and a *Church of England Protestant* too: Bating, the [Established by Law] *College Himself* went thus far, and yet no body knew what to make of him at last. We have a hundred and fifty several sorts of *English Protestants*, and consequently in *his Sense*, so many *Communions* of the Church of *England:* For *All the several Sects* have their *several Churches* and when they are put to the *Touch*, Every Sect *Denominates* it self of the *Church of England:* So that instead of the *Simplicity* of a *Declaration* and *Confession*, we have not hitherto so much as One Line, that is not wrapt up in *Equivocation* and *Mistery:* but the Only way of Expounding his *Intent* in *this Particular* must be by a *Colation* of *Parts* and *Comparing* (as we do *Scripture Difficulties*) *One Text* with *Another*. He Complains in One Place of *Bitterness* and *Persecution*, and Charges the *Church-men* with *Severity*. He Reflects in *Another Place* upon [*many Protestants that gave a Helping Hand to Popery.*] Now it cannot be Imagin'd, that the *Sham-Confessor* (whoever he be) reckons my Lord, either among the *Persecuting*, or among the *Popishly-affected-Protestants?* So that there's no *Church of England* Communion left him, but that of the *Dissenters*. And what does he mean again, now by the [Heights *of many People?*] the *Standard* of a *Legal Con-*

formity is neither *Higher* nor *Lower*, than the *Established Rule* and *Measure:* So that upon the *Unriddling* of *this Clause*, the wondrous Difficulty terminates in a very *plain Resolution: i.e.* That the **Protestant** hereby *intended*, is a **Dissenting Member** *of the* **Non-Conforming Communion** *of the Church of* England. Thus far we have had Nothing but *Doubling* and *Shifting*: But after a Diligent and a Careful Search for *One Clear* and *Plain-Dealing-Period* or Two, that might in some degree *Atone* for the *Oraculous Elusions* of the *Rest;* this is the Only *Point-blank-Assertion* that I find in the whole Paper.

[*I shall Averr, that what I said of my not hearing Collonel* Rumsey *deliver any Message from my Lord* Shaftsbury, *was* TRUE, *for* I always Detested Lying, *though never so much to my Advantage; And I hope none will be so unjust as to think I would adventure on it, in* These my last Words, *for which I am so soon to give an Account to the Great God, the Searcher of Hearts and Judge of all Things.*]

I take this to be the most *Remarkable Passage* in the Paper, being the *Only Point* that my Lord delivers upon his *Death*, to be a **Truth**, without power of *Revocation;* And it is done too, with a *Solemnity* as *Dreadful* as the Contemplation of *Divine Justice*, and a *Judgment to come*, can make it. All the *Rest* is *Loose* and *Dubious*, and may be taken *One* way as well as *Another:* But in this, the *Asseveration* is *Positive* and *Precise, i.e.* that [*What my Lord said of his not hearing Collonel* Rumsey **Deliver** *any Message from my Lord* Shaftsbury, *was* **True**] We'le take it for granted now, that my Lord did **Not** hear the *Delivery* of *That Message:* That is to say, a *Message* from the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, [*That it was High Time to come to some Resolution about the* **Rising**] It does not therefore follow, that because My Lord *did* **Not** *hear the* **Delivery** of *the Message*, he knew nothing therefore of the **Contents** of it? His Lordship *heard* the *Subject Matter* of the *Message Debated;* And he *Heard* the *Answer* that was *Resolved* upon in *Return* to that *Message:* Which was in Effect, [That *Mr Trenchard was not Ready, and therefore they could not as yet go on.*] Nay, My *Lord* did not deny the *Hearing* of the *Answer*, but put the *Question* himself at his *Tryal*, [*Whether or no he Consented to that Answer:*] And *Collonel Rumsey* delivered upon his *Oath*, that he did both *Advise* about it, *Treat* and *Consent;* So that it is not the value of a *Single-Hair*, (if there were *Twenty Thousand Lives at Stake upon it*)

whether my Lord heard that *Message* Delivered *or* Not. What's the *Meaning* then of laying the *Stress* of his Salvation upon't: He *Purges* himself of *no Part* of his *Charge* by't, but rather by the *Frankness* of his *Protestation* in a matter of *Little* or *No Importance*, and without leaving himself any *Room* for an *Evasion*, he draws a *Suspicion* upon the *Candor* and *Clearness* of all the *rest*, for it *looks Odly* to see a man so *Wonderfully solemn*, and *Particular* in *one single Case*, where 'tis not a farthing matter whether it be *Cross* or *Pile:* And yet at the *same time* so *Dark* and *Doubtful* in *twenty other Instances*, where all that can be dear to a Man of *Integrity* and *Honour*, is concerned. But the *Paper itself* gives the *Reason* of this *Different* way of *Proceeding*, in saying that my Lord [*always detested Lying:*] Upon which consideration it has *Distinguished* betwixt things *True* and *False*, by the *Peremptory Strictness* of the *One*, and the *Ambiguities* and *Reservations* of the *Other*, which is the *only Key* that *Opens the Meaning* of *this Paper.* And there's another thing to be observed, which is, that *This very* Truth was designed as a means to lead the Reader into a *Mistake*, as if *My Lords not hearing the Delivery of the Message*, were sufficient in Consequence, to Discharge him of the *Guilt* and *Danger* of the *Consultation.* My Lords *Adviser* has shewed himself a great *Master* in the *Doctrine of Probabilities*, This Paper quite throughout. There's but *One plain Truth* in't, and yet as the matter is ordered, there is hardly *One Falsity* neither, but it runs altogether in *Appearance* and *Disguise*, like one of your *Turning Pictures* that shews you a Beast on the *One* Hand, and a Man on the *Other.* It was *Generally Noted*, that my Lord had very little to oppose in his own Defence at his *Tryal;* and his *Black Angel* has found out a *Shift* for *That* too.

[I *was Advised not to Confess Matter of Fact* plainly; *since that must certainly have brought me within the Guilt of* Misprision; *and being thus Restrained from dealing Franckly and* Openly, *I chose rather to say Little, then to depart from that Ingenuity, that, by the Grace of God, I had carry'd along with me in the former Parts of my Life: And so could Easier be silent, and leave the whole matter to the Conscience of the Jury, then to make the Last, and solemnest Part of my Life so different from the Course of it, as the using* Little Tricks, *and* Evasions *must hav been.*]

I cannot bring the several Parts of this Clause to a *Consistence One*

with *Another.* My Lord was Advis'd against *Confessing* PLAINLY, FRANCKLY, OPENLY. He *Follow'd* That *Advice;* And in so doing, *Mine'd the Matter,* and *Confess'd* NOT PLAINLY, Nor FRANCKLY, Nor OPENLY. That is to say; he *Confess'd* mysteriously, and kept himself upon his *Guard:* which, how *Prudent* soever, was yet a *Departure* from the *Scrupulous Dignity* of his Lordships Figure, in This *Paragraph;* and falls within the Compass of the Little Tricks *and* Evasions which I find in the very *same Period, Condemn'd.* But where's the *Hurt* now, of a Man's employing All the *Honest Arts* and *Methods,* for the Defence of his *Life* that the Cause will bear? As desiring to know the *Pannel,* for the purpose; *Time* to *Consider* of it; *Liberty* of *Challenges,* and the like. But to Descend now from This *Elevated Resolution* to the very matter of *Fact;* I dare appeal to the most *Partial,* or rather to the most *Favourable* Friend my Lord had in the world, whether he thinks that *his Lordship Abated* any thing of his *Defence* that he *could* or *would* otherwise have made, upon the reason here Alledg'd; of keeping up the *Congruity of his Character,* to the end that in his *Life* and in his *Death,* he might be *all of a piece.* I must take notice again, that it is a very Extraordinary way, for a *Prisoner* at the Barr to be *silent,* where he has any thing to say for *himself;* And so to leave the whole matter to the *Conscience* of a *Jury,* when in *Conscience* they must Necessarily find *him Guilty,* if the proofs *Reach him;* and that he has nothing to say to the *Contrary.* And then there's another foul *Blot* too, in saying, that the [*Confession of the Fact,* PLAINLY,] must [CERTAINLY *have brought my Lord within the Guilt of Misprision.*] That same [CERTAINLY] has shew'd the World the very Bottom of the Business; for what becomes of [*The Words of a Dying Man*] then, *that my Lord knows of No Plot, either against the Kings Life, or the Government*] when here's a *Plain Confession* of the *Knowledge* of a *Conspiracy,* and the *Concealment* of it? There can be no *Dispute* upon this *Contradiction,* but the *Denial* must of Necessity be either *False,* or *Double.* The *One* Pinches upon a Point of Honour; The *Other* looks only like a Trial of Skill: And so we shall content our selves to cast it into the Heap of his *other Amphibologies.* (I make use of a *Hard Word* for a *very ill thing,* because I would not have the *Common People* understand the *meaning* of it.) And it is upon *This Condition,* too, that the Reader shall be at liberty to take all his *Other Reservations* by the same *Handle;* for upon the *Solution* of *This Difficulty,* depends the very *Issue* of the *Question.* There

Remains One Slip more yet, wherein the Author seems to have Overshot himself. There's a Reproach fastened upon his *Lordships Councel*, as if **They** had Train'd him into a *Snare*, by **Misadvising** him. 'Tis True, that the *Paper* does not say *expressly*, whether they were *Profess'd Gownmen*, or *Particular Friends* that gave the *Advice:* But yet for the *Reputation* of his *Lordships Prudence*, it must be understood of **Lawyers**; as the *Only Competent Directors* that my Lord could make use of in such an *Extremity*. Who can Imagine, now, that any *Lawyer*, (though never so little *Skill'd* in his *Profession)* could *Advise* my Lord upon *Fair Instructions*, and a *Manifest Certainty* of what would be *Sworn* against him, to *Smother*, or to *Extenuate* the matter of *Fact*; least (as the Paper Insinuates) it should be found *Misprision* of *Treason?* when *Effectually*, *This Lawyer* could have told my Lord his *Doom* **beforehand**: And that it would undoubtedly have been found, not only *Misprision*, but *Treason it self.* In which Condition; my Lords Councel, would rather have advis'd him to have thrown himself upon the *Kings mercy*. And there is more than a *Tacit* **Acknowledgment** of my Lords *Guilt*, In several other Parts of this Paper: But I'le take *This following passage* in my way to the rest.

[*As I never had any Design against the* Kings Life, *or the Life of any Man whatsoever; so I never was in any Contrivance of* Altering the Government: *What the Heats, Wickedness, Passions, and Vanities of Other Men have Occasioned, I ought not to be Answerable for; nor could I Repress them, though I now suffer for them: But the will of the Lord be done, into whose Hands I commend my Spirit, and trust that Thou, O most merciful Father, hast forgiven me all my Transgressions; the Sins of my Youth, and all the Errors of my past Life; and that Thou wilt not lay my secret Sins and Ignorances to my Charge*, &c.]

I shall here Recommend one special Note to the Reader: Which is, That in *Five several Places* (i.e. *Twice* in the *Speech*, and *Thrice afterwards*) this Paper Restrains my Lord's Endeavour to discharge himself from the *Dint* of the *Indictment*, to the express *Hints*, of the **Kings Life**, and **Altering** or **Changing** the *Government*. As for *Example:* [*God knows how far I was always from Designs upon the* **Kings Person,** *or* **Altering the Government**; *In the words of a Dying Man, I profess I know of no* **Plot**, *either against the* **Kings Life,** *or the*

Government.] And then afterwards, [*I never had any Design of* Changing the Government, *&c.*] *I would have suffer'd any thing rather then have consented to any Design to take away the* Kings Life.] And so again in the Clause *last above-mention'd.* The Hammering of This Point over and over, so often, was, Undoubtedly, to strike the *Deeper Impression*, and to create, in the *short-sighted Multitude*, a *Stronger Perswasion* of my Lords *Innocence.* But why in the Same Words still? And with so *Cautious*, and *Particular a Limitation*, to *Those Two Articles*; if it were not to *Accommodate* That *Popular Cover* to some *Hidden Meaning?* But the Fallacy that's Couch'd under [*The* Kings Life] and [Altering the Government] is expos'd already. It is said here, That my Lord had no Design against the *Life* of *any man whatsoever:* 'Tis hard to imagine a *War*, and no body to be *Kill'd* in't: But there's a *Salvo* for *That* too; That the *Individual Person* was not *thought* of. Neither do I believe that my Lord ever *Design'd* to take away the Life of Dr. *Hawkins*, though he said in his *Passion*, that [*he hop'd to live to see him Flead and Hung up.*] That which follows next, speaks my Lord *Privy* to a great many *Ill Things*; And it is not enough to say, that *he could not Repress them*; For they were of such a Quality, that his Lordship was Bound, both by *Oath*, and *Duty* to *Discover them*; Or at the least, In Honour, and in *Conscience*, to have avoided a *Conversation* that carried on such *Dangerous Designs.*

And now to speak one word to that which passes for his Lordships *last Prayer.* We have his own *Acknowledgment* of *Misprision of Treason*, And yet not one syllable upon *that Subject*, in his *Parting Confession.* But he that wrote that Paper is a *Profess'd Enemy* I perceive, to the *Christianity* of a *Clear* Confession.

I hope nobody (says the Paper) *will imagine, that so* mean *a Thought could enter into* me, *as to go about to* save my self by accusing others. *The Part that some have Acted lately of that kind, has not been such as to invite me to love Life at such a Rate.*]

A Man shall not need to Guess twice, who was the Author of this Sentence; for 'tis written with the very Spirit of a *Carguelite* that makes *Treason*, a *Virtue*, and *Repentance* a *Mortal Sin:* And my *Poor Lord*, in the *Anguish* of his *Thought*, is left here to Answer for

the *Lewdness* of *Another man*, who, (Notwithstanding the *Justness* of my Lords *Sentence*,) is *Incomparably the Greater Criminal.* If he ever *was*, or *Pretended* to be a *Minister* of the *Gospel*, (For there are *Julians in* Black-Coats, and *more Julians* then *One* too) what could be more *Luciferian;* then to turn *Penitence* into a *Scandal;* And to *Preach* it for a Point of *Religious Honour*, in a *Christian*, not to *Discover* his *Complices* in a *Rebellion.* Surely the Author of this Paper was afraid of being Discovered himself; And therefore *Inculcates* the *Principle*, and *Recommends* it. It is such an *Indignity*, for a man to [Save himself by Accusing others?] What is it then for a man rather to *Damn* his *Soul* by the *Perjurious Concealment* of a *Traytor;* then by *Discharging* his *Duty*, both to *God* and to his *Prince*, to lay down *This Life* in hope of a *Better*, through the *Merits* and *Intercession* of a most *Merciful Saviour?* The *Pen-man's* [saving *of* Himself by Accusing Others,] is only the *False Gloss* of a *Reprobated Seducer* upon the *Text.* And then the *Instance* of his *Reproach* upon the *Kings Witnesses*, in this Matter, is a *Farther Discovery* of the *Venom* of *him* that gave the *Dictate.* This is a way chalk'd-out, not only for the *Encouragement*, but almost the *Canonizing* of *Conspirators.* Here is an *Acknowledgement* however, that my *Lord* Could have *Accused Others*, if he Would. We shall come now to the Matter of *Fact.*

[*As to the Conspiring to seize the Guards, which is the Crime for which I am Condemned, and which was made a* Constructive Treason *for taking away the* Kings Life, *to bring it within the Statute of* Edw. 3. *I shall give this true and Clear Account. I never was at Mr* Shepheard's *with that Company but once, and there was no* undertaking *then of Securing, or seizing the Guards; nor none appointed to* View *or* Examine *them; Some Discourse there was, of the* Feasibleness *of it; And several times by* Accident, *in* General Discourse, *elsewhere. I have heard it Mentioned as a thing might easily be done; but never* Consented *to as* Fit *to be done, And I remember particularly, at my Lord* Shaftsburys, *there being some* General Discourse *of* this Kind, *I immediately flew out, and Exclaimed against it, And ask'd* [If the thing succeeded what must be done next, but, *Massacring* the *Guards*, and killing them in Cold Blood?] *which I look'd upon as so Detestable a thing, and so like a* Popish Practice, *that I could not but* abhor *it: And at the same time, the Duke of* Monmouth *took me by the Hand, and told me very kindly*, My Lord, I see you and I are of a temper. Did you ever hear so horrid a thing? *And I must needs do him that*

Justice, to Declare, that I never observed in him but an Abhorrence *to* All Base Things.]

My Lord was *charged* by the *Indictment* of *High Treason*, for *Conspiring, Compassing, and Imagining the Death and Destruction of the King; And the Raising of a Rebellion within the Kingdom.* Now this was a *Consultation* in Order to that end: And for that which is here call'd a **Constructive Treason**, It was much a Plainer Act of Treason then anything in the Articles against my *Lord Chief Justice Scroggs;* And yet *That* pass'd for a very *Current*, *House-of-Commons-Treason.* The Paper *says*, that my *Lord* was but *once* at Mr. *Shepheards* with that Company: Mr. *Shepheard* swears it *Twice*, with the *same Company:* But that Slip of Memory shall go for nothing. There was [*No Undertaking to seize the Guards,*] it seems; nor any [*Appointment to View, or Examine them.*] That's because it was not yet come to a **Resolution:** But here's no Denyal at all, of a *Debate* or *Consultation* toward it: The Exploit was found [*Feasible, and several Discourses about it.*] But said only to be in **General**, and by **Accident**; Is it meant that they **Met** by *Accident;* and so fell upon *Discourse* only by *Accident;* And that *This Particular* of [*Seizing the Guards*] fell in only as an *Accidental Discourse?* This way of **Disguising** the *Truth* is as Clear to any man that has Eyes in his head, as if it were a *Plain* **Confession** of it; for if it were meant **Good Faith**, the *Author* would have strain'd himself for *another Invocation* of [*the Great God, the Searcher of Hearts, and Judge of All Things,*] to bear *Witness* to the *Explicite Truth* of the *Case.* But [*it was never Consented to as* **Fit** *to be done.*] Now *That* **Fitness** may referr to the **Time**; the **Means**; the **Ways**, the **Instruments**. They had not yet Pitcht upon a *Safe*, and *Effectual Way* perhaps, for the *doing* of it: But there was [*More General Discourse now of the same Kind at my Lord* Shaftsbury's] And *This* was a *Terrible* **General** *Discourse*, for it made my Lord immediately *Fly out*, and *Exclaim* against it. I wish the Paper had set forth **what this General** *Discourse* was; And what the **Other** was too, that **fell** in by **Accident**; And whether **that General** *Discourse* and **This** *General Discourse*, were not as good as *all one:* But in short; **such** *General Discourse* it *was*, that it wanted but one step, of *Massacring* the *Guards;* Or *cutting their Throats* in their *Beds;* which, the Paper says, [*My Lord* **Abhorr'd** *it for, being so like a* **Popish** *Practice.*] A *Presbyterian Practice* would not have done a miss neither in *This Place*, if a body had had the *Murder* of the *Late King; Montross;*

The Arch-bishop of St. *Andrews &c.* in his thought. But shall any man be at last so *Weak*, as to swallow it, that [Did you ever hear so horrid a Thing,] was only an *Exclamation* upon a General and Accidental *Discourse?* All the *Rest* went down well enough, till it came to the *Cut-Throat-part* of it. And that was the Point that Startled them: The *Doing* of the *Bus'ness*, either in a *Brave, Generous Way*, Head to Head; or with *Cap in Hand;* And a Complement of *Loyalty*, and *Respect*, to Desire his Majesty, in *These Dangerous Times, to sign a Demise of his* Three Kingdoms, to the *Use* of the *Council of Six;* Or to a *Band* of *Associators*, for the Security of his *Sacred Person*, and the *Protestant Religion;* I do not find, (by any thing I see yet) that the *Men of Honour* (if the *Paper-Writer* might have had his Will) would have *Boggl'd* at such a way of *Proceeding;* But the doing of the Thing Basely, was the *Business;* And the *Scruple* that was *made*, was upon a Point of *Bravery*, not *Conscience.* But to continue the Story.

[*As to my going to* Mr. Shepheards, *I went with an* Intention *to taste Sherry; for he had promised me to Reserve for me the next very good Piece he met with, when I went out of town; and if he recollects, he may remember I askt him about it, and he went and fetcht a Bottle: But when I tasted it, I said 'twas Hot in the Mouth; and desired that whenever he met with a Choice Piece, he would keep it for me which he Promised. I Enlarge the more upon This, because* Sir George Jefferies *Insinuated to the* Jury, *as if I had made a* Story *about going thither; but I never said,* [That was the Only Reason] *And I will now* Truly and Plainly *add the rest.*]

By *this Paragraph*, the Reader is to be held in hand, that my Lords BUSINESS to Mr. *Shepheards* was to taste Sherry: And the Paper goes about to *Refresh* Mr. *Shepheard's Memory*, by such and such *Tokens*, the *Word* is [*with an* Intention *to taste Sherry*] which in *common Speech*, does fairly insinuate, as if the *Tasting of Sherry* had been the *chief End* of his going; whereas supposing that to be in his *Intention*, it might be, nevertheless yet, the least part of his *Bus'ness:* And further, the Author of this Paper has not thought fit to give us any Sort of *Light*, *what* his business was: Nay, Mr. *Shepheard*, on the other hand, *swears* that it was a *Meeting* by Appointment, and that there was nothing of the *Sherry Story* in the Case. My

Lord, however, made use of this Suggestion at his *Tryal;* and Sir *George Jefferies* Reflecting upon it to the Jury, this Paper undertakes the *Excusing* of *One Shift* with *Another:* The *Tasting* of *Sherry* was *One Reason*, though not the only Reason, But we are now to Expect a True and Plain *Account* of the Rest.

[*I was the day before this Meeting, come to Town, for two or three days, as I had done, once or twice before; having a very Near and Dear Relation lying in a very Languishing and Desperate Condition: And the Duke of* Monmouth *came to me, and told me, he was extremely glad I was come to Town; for my Lord* Shaftsbury *and some* Hot men would undo *us all: How so, My Lord*, said I? *Why* (answered he) *they'l certainly do some* Disorderly *thing or other, if Great care be not taken, and therefore for God's sake; Use your Endeavours with your Friends to prevent any thing of this kind. He told me, there would be* company *at Mr.* Shepheards *that night, and desired me to be at home in the Evening, and he would call me, which he did: And when I came into the Room, I saw Mr* Rumley *by the Chimney, though he swears he came in after: and there were things said by some with much more* Heat *than* Judgment, *which I did* sufficiently Disapprove, *and yet for* these Things *I stand* Condemned: *But I thank God* my Part *was* syncere *and* well meant: *It is, I know, inferred from hence, and was pressed to me, that I was acquainted with those* Heats *and* Ill Designs, *and did not* Discover *them; but this is but* Misprision of Treason, *at most. So* I dye Innocent *of the* Crime *I stand* Condemned *for*, &c.]

Here's a short Account of my Lords coming twice or thrice to *Town*; and that he had a Dear Relation lying sick here: But whether he came upon a *Visit*, or upon the *Bus'ness in Question*, the Paper says *Nothing.* The Duke of *Monmouth* Complains to him, as above, of my Lord *Shaftsbury* and *Other Hot Headed Men* that would *spoyl all; this implyes my Lords being Antecedently privy to the matter in hand;* for he takes the hint immediately. [How so my Lord?] (says he) without needing to Enquire either *What* Men, or *what* Bus'ness? The Answer was no more in Effect than This. *There are a Company of mad Fellows, that will out-run the* Constable, *they will be shewing themselves too soon, and make some* Bedlam attempt or other, *before we are ready for 'm and then we are All ruin'd.* So that it was not the *Design it'self*, but (as This Paper Represents it) the *rash* and *impru-*

dent Manage, that was taken Check at; And now follows the *Meeting* at Mr *Shepheards;* which this Paper calls [**Company**] as if it were a **chance** *Company*, not a *Meeting:* But Mr *Shepheard* speaks of it as a **Set** *Company:* And Mr *Rumsey* was likewise *appointed* to *meet there.* My Lords *Contradicting* Mr *Rumsey* in a *Circumstance* without any *Exception* to him upon the *main*, looks like a *tacit Admittance* of the rest of his *Evidence.* The Paper speaks further, of [*things that were said by some, with more* **Heat** *than* **Judgment**:] but neither says *who spake* them, nor *what* the things were; but 'tis Probable they were *Treason*, by my Lords *Disapproval* of them: And it would have been well, if his Lordship had at least told the *things*, though without naming the *Persons.* It is remarkable, that the words are [**with much more** HEAT **than** JUDGMENT] If it had been with much more **Heat** than **Honesty**; my Lords *Disapproval* would have Reflected upon the **Cause**; but with much more **Heat** than **Judgment**, strikes only upon the *Indiscretion.* The Paper thinks it hard, that My *Lord* should be *Condemn'd* for the things which he *Disapproved*, whereas my *Lord* was *Condemn'd* for *Meeting, Consulting, and Agreeing to Raise an Insurrection*, &c. And it is the *Law* that Pronounces the *Sentence:* My *Lords Part*, it seems, was *Sincere*, and well meant. 'Tis a thousand pitties his Lordship was not better *Enformed*, for People under a *Mistake* may do the *worst things in the world* with *Good Meaning.* And then methinks [**Heats** and **Ill Designs**] are too soft a way of Expressing such *Horrible Treasons.* The *Paper* calls it *Dying* **Innocent** *of the Crime my Lord was Condemned for*, and but *Misprision of Treason* at the *most*, in *Concealing* what he was *Privy* to. Here is the *Knowledg* of *Treason* **Implyed**, in the *Misprision* of *Treason* **Confessed**; And there needs not much *Concurrence* with *Traytors*, to make a man *Guilty* of *Treason.* It is to be wish'd My Lord would have *Declared*, what *sort* of *Treason* it was that he was made *Acquainted* with; whether the *Imprisoning* or *Deposing* of the *King:* And by what *Means* and *Instruments* to be *Executed.* Once again now, and I have done.

[*As for the Sentence of* Death *passed upon me, I cannot but think it a very* Hard *One, for* Nothing was sworn against me *(whether true or false, I will not now Examine)* but some discourses about making some **Stirs**. *And this is not* Levying War *against the* King, *which is* Treason *by the Statute of* Edward *the* Third, *and not the* **Consulting** *and* **Discoursing** *about it, which was all that was Witnessed against*

me. But by a strange Fetch, the Design of Seizing the Guards, *was Construed a Design of* Killing the King ; *and so I was in that Cast.*

And now I have **Truly** *and* **Syncerely** *told what my part was in that ; which cannot be more than a* Bare **Misprision** ; *And yet I am* Condemned *as Guilty of a Design of* **Killing the King**.]

Here's an *Insinuation* of an *Unjust Sentence*, upon *False Evidence*, though *this Paper* **Confesses** as much, on my Lords Part, as was *Sworn against him.* The *Paper* calls it [*Nothing but some Discourses about making some Stirs*] and those *Stirs* are afterward Expounded, to be [*Levying War against the King.*] And my *Lord* was *Condemned* for *Consulting* about those *Stirs. These Consultations*, the *Court* Pronounces to be *Treason :* My *Lord* Insists upon it, that they are only a *Bare Misprision :* And that *the Design of seizing the Guards* is *wrongfully Interpreted* a **Design of Killing the King**. If *this* be so *strange* a *Fetch*, what was it in the House of Commons to make the *Charge* against my *Lord Chief Justice Scroggs* to be **Treason** ?

The *Law-Part* has been Learnedly, and Copiously clear'd already, in certain Reflexions upon This Paper, called the *Antidote against Poyson :* The *Ouvert Acts* towards the *Accomplishing* this **Treason**, were abundantly made out at the *Tryal ;* and Undoubtedly *That* which was *Good Law* in the Case of my *Lord Stafford* holds as *Good* in the Case of my *Lord Russel :* And *Sir* William Jone's *Opinion in this Point, will weigh certainly against the Opinion of the Author of this Paper.*

[*Will any man deny* (*says* Sir William Jones) *that the* **Meeting** *and* **Consulting** *of several men together about Killing the King, and changing the Government is an* Ouvert Act ? Lord Stafford's Tryal, p. 190.]

Here is enough said, to set forth the *Inconsistencies* of the **Speech Spoken**, and of the **Paper Delivered** *to the Sheriffs :* And the *Disagreements* of that *Paper* with it self in several *Peremptory Denials*, and *Point-Blank Confessions* of the same thing. That is to say, according to the *Popular Acceptation* of *Words* Delivered with *Simplicity* and *Candour :* But then in the *True Protestant Latitude* of **Savings** and **Reservations** ; The *Connexion* seems to be perfectly *all of a piece ;* And *One Line* serves to *Expound Another ;* to the Readers *Infinite*

Satisfaction, that there is *Nothing Intended* upon the *Whole*, but *Fallacy* and *Illusion;* bating only here and there a *Stricture*, where it *Cuts* upon the *Government.* In few words; It is a *Reproach* in the form of a *Vindication:* the *Panegyrique* of a *Pedant*, instead of the *Confession* of a *Penitent.* The *Last Prayer* and *Agonies* of a *Dying Christian*, *Dissolved* into a *Floud* of *Calumnie* and *Bitterness* against the *Church* and *State;* and nothing but the *Name*, to Entitle it to the thing it *Pretends* to be: After so *Severe* and *Needful* a *Reflection* upon this *Vagabond Paper*, for it fills *All Mouths* and *Places*, I reckon it a *Duty* to Accompany my *Zeal* for the *Publick*, in *this Particular*, with all Possible *Justice* and *Respect* to the *Memory* of the *Dead.* The *Unhappy Circumstances* of his *Deplorable Fate* duly *Considered.*

That my Lords *Charge* was **Proved**, and his *Sentence* according to **Law**, his Lordship hath acknowledged under his own Hand (whatsoever this *Ill-natured Paper* may Pretend to the *Contrary.)* In *one Petition* to his Majesty, My Lord does [Solemnly Protest *upon the Word of a Dying Man, that he never had any Intention or Thought of doing hurt to his Majesties Sacred* Person, *however by* **Interpretation of Law** *'tis imputed to him, And if His Majesty should be pleased to Execute* **the Rigour of the Law** *upon him; he hoped that God would enable him*, &c.] *In a second Petition*, His Lordship [*Humbly and sorrowfully* **Confesses** *his having been Present at those Meetings, which he is* **Convinced** *are* **Unlawful**, *and justly Provoking to his Majesty, But being Betrayed by* Ignorance *and* Inadvertence, *he did not Decline them as he ought to have done*, &c.] I have the Charity to Believe now, that really according to the Purport of these Petitions, His Lordships *Great Misfortune* was rather an *Error* of *Principle*, then a *Factiousness* of *Malice:* And it is no wonder, if he were somewhat *deeper Dyed* then *Ordinary*, that had (but too frequently) most desperate *Seducers* at his *Elbow.* What was that *Treasonous* and *Atheistical Libel* of [*Julian the Apostate*] but the very *Scheme* of this *Conspiracy*, and *Calculated* for the *Murder* of the *King*, and the *Dissolution* of the *State?* And it was *the same Poysonous Position* that brought this *Unhappy Lord* to his *Ruine.*

As to this *Pernicious Paper*, I make no question but my *Lord* **Signed** it, and that he made it his **Own**, by so *Doing:* But it holds so little *Congruity* with the *State* and *Exigence* of his Lordships *Case*, that I am perswaded (under his *Anxious Circumstances)* he would

have signed a *Blank* upon the *same Terms*, if the *same Person* had *Presented* it: For there is not one *Syllable* in't that *Avails* him to any purpose Imaginable: It Pretends to *Truth* and *Plainness;* and yet scarce *six Lines* in't without a *Riddle.* It pretends to Discharge my *Lord* of the whole *Indictment:* And yet in several Places, either *Intricates*, or *Confesses* it. It pretends to Deliver the *whole Truth* of the Matter, and yet leaves out the *Meetings* at his *Own* and Mr. *Hamdens* House, where the great Pinch of the Charge lay. Nay the Faction had proceeded so far to the Captivating of this Honourable Persons *Judgment*, that Mr *Montagues Letter* to the *Lord Treasurer*, bearing date *Jan.* 18. 1678. *St. N.* that was Read in the House of Commons, takes Notice how much the Court of *France* depended upon him, for the *Crossing* (as he calls it) of the *Court Measures.* [Mr Ruvigny's *Instructions are by the Means of* Will. Russel *and* other Discontented People *to give a Great deal of Mony, and cross all your Measures at Court.*] But to come more particularly now to the miserable Principle that led him to his Destruction.

Upon the *Munday* after my Lords *Condemnation*, the Reverend Dean of *Canterbury*, Dr. *Tillotson*, gave his Lordship a pious and Friendly Visit: Expressing the Extreme *Affliction* as well as *Compassion* that he had for his present Condition: And not without Great Admiration at my Lords being Engaged in a Misfortune of that Quality: But after a little Discourse upon that Subject, the Dr. was much more troubled, to find that my Lord was not only Embarqu'd in that *Pernicious* and *wicked Design*, but *Possess'd* with the *Principle* of his Chaplains [*Julian the Apostate*] that *Resistance was Lawful in the Case of Religion*, *Liberties* and *Properties being Invaded:* whereupon the Dr. Applyed himself by *Argument* and *Counsel* to the setting of his Lordship right in that Particular, with all the *Freedom*, *Tenderness* and *Respect Imaginable*: And not without Flattering himself at last, that he had gain'd his point upon my Lords Judgment, who promis'd the Dr. at parting, *to bethink himself seriously of what he had said.*

The next day Dr. *Burnet* tells the *Dean*, that this Discourse had wrought a very good Effect upon my Lord, and that *he was now Resolved to do All that might become a man under his Circumstances, and to Discharge his Conscience both towards God and Man.* Hereupon the *Dean* applyed himself forthwith to a Person of Great

Honour, with this Account of his Success, desiring that the matter might be Represented to his Majesty, which was done accordingly, (and the best Office, which in such a Case the Dr. could render to his Lordship.)

Upon *Wednesday*, the Dean gave my *Lord* another Visit, when taking for granted, that his *Lordship* continued in his Late Resolution, he entertain'd him only with Preparatory Discourses toward the fitting of him for a better Life.

Upon *Friday Morning*, the Dean Administered to my *Lord* the *Holy Sacrament*, having previously Receiv'd such Satisfaction from him, as the Occasion and the Duty Requir'd. But afterwards, Mr *Dean* finding him wavering, went his way: And about five or six in the Evening brought him a *Letter*, which was excellently well Accommodated and very pertinently Applyed to the point in Question. The *Dean* Deliver'd the *Letter* to my *Lord* and Discours'd at large upon it, Earnestly beseeching him to Bethink himself, how much it concern'd him not to leave the World under so dangerous a Mistake, but my *Lord* seemed much colder now, than before, the *Dean* however pressing him to Enter into a strict and severe Examination of himself, and so he departed, leaving the *Letter* in his *Lordships* hand.

The next Morning (being the Day of his *Execution*) the *Dean* waited upon my *Lord* again, when he found him yet cooler, and utterly Declining any Occasion of farther Discourse upon the Old Matter. Upon this, the Dr. *Desisted*, and Attended him afterwards, and *Pray'd* with him on the *Scaffold: Discharging* himself, from first to last in All the Parts of a *Churchman*, and of a *Friend*. A *True Copy* both of the *Letter*, and of the *Prayer* hereafter follows,

July 20, 1683.

My Lord,

I *Was heartily glad to see your Lordship this Morning in that calm and devout temper at Receiving the Sacrament, but Peace of mind unless it be well grounded will avail little: And because transient Discourse many times hath little effect for want of time to weigh and consider it, therefore in tender compassion of your Lordships Case, and from*

all the good Will that one man can bear to another, I do humbly offer to your Lordships deliberate thoughts these following Considerations concerning the Points of Resistance, if our Religion and Rights should be invaded, as your Lordship puts the Case, concerning which I understood by Dr. Burnet, *that your Lordship had once received Satisfaction, and am sorry to find a change.*

First, *That the Christian Religion doth plainly forbid the Resistance of Authority.*

Secondly, *That though our Religion be Established by Law, (which your Lordship urges as a difference between our Case, and that of the Primitive Christians) yet in the same Law, which Establishes our Religion it is declared, That it is not Lawful upon any pretence whatsoever to take up Arms,* &c. *Besides, That there is a particular Law declaring the Power of the* Militia *to be solely in the King. And this ties the hands of Subjects, though the Law of Nature and the General Rules of Scripture had left us at liberty; which I believe they do not, because the Government and Peace of Humane Society could not well subsist upon these Terms.*

Thirdly, *Your Lordships Opinion is contrary to the declared Doctrine of all Protestant Churches: and though some particular Persons have taught otherwise, yet they have been contradicted herein and condemned for it by the Generality of Protestants: And I beg of your Lordship to consider how it will agree with an avowed asserting of the Protestant Religion to go contrary to the General Doctrine of the Protestants. My End in this is to convince Your Lordship, that You are in a very Great and Dangerous Mistake, and being so convinced, that which before was a Sin of Ignorance, will appear of a much more heinous Nature, as in Truth it is, and call for a very particular and deep Repentance; which if Your Lordship sincerely exercise upon the sight of your Error, by a Penitent Acknowledgment of it to God and Men, You will not only obtain Forgiveness of God, but prevent a mighty Scandal to the Reformed Religion. I am very loath to give Your Lordship any disquiet in the Distress You are in, which I commiserate from my heart, but are much more concerned, that You do not leave the World in a delusion and false Peace, to the hindrance of Your Eternal Happiness. I heartily pray for You, and beseech your Lordship to believe that I am with the greatest Syncerity and Compassion in the World,*

My Lord,

Your Lordships most Faithful and Afflicted Servant,

290 *John Tillotson.*

Dr *Tillitson's* Prayer upon the Scaffold with the Late
LORD RUSSEL.

O *ALMIGHTY and Merciful God, with whom alone, live the Spirits of Just Men made perfect, after they are delivered from these earthly Prisons, we humbly commend the Soul of this our dear Brother into thy hands, as into the hands of a Faithful Creator, and most mercifal Saviour; humbly beseeching thee that it may be pretious in thy sight, wash it, O Lord, from all it's guilt in the blood of the immaculate Lamb that was slain to take away the Sins of the World; That whatsoever Defilements it may have Contracted in the midst of this wicked World, by the lusts of the flesh, or the wiles of Satan, being purged and done away, by a sincere and unfeigned Repentance, through thy Infinite Mercy and Goodness in our Lord Jesus Christ, it may be presented pure and holy, and without spot, before thee; O Lord we humbly beseech thee to support thy Servant and stand by him in this last and great Contest, deliver him from the pains of Eternal Death, and save him, O Lord, for thy mercies sake, and grant that all we who survive, by this, and other instances of thy Providence, may learn our Duty to God and the King, and that by this and other like Spectacles of our Mortality, we may see how frail and uncertain our Condition is in this World, that it is all but vanity, and teach us so to number our days, that we may seriously apply our hearts to that holy and heavenly Wisdom while we live, which may bring us to* Life Everlasting *through* Jesus Christ *our Lord, in whose holy Name and Words we conclude our Prayers.*

Our Father, *&c.*

Having done this Right to the *Truth* by an *Impartial Report* of the Matter of *Fact;* And this *Further Right* to the Reverend *Dean*, to *Publish* the *Right* that he hath done to *Himself* in *this Affair*, *I* shall Super-add *this Note*, that he had nothing to do in the *Paper* that has made all this noise; but to *Condemn* so much as he *Heard* of it. *And* in *Truth* it was *Observed*, that while my *Lord* and the *Dean* were *together*, they had *Neither Pen, Ink, nor Paper.* Now though 'tis True again, that when my *Lord*, and Doctor *Burnet* were together, there was *Pen, Ink*, and *Paper called for;* It Concludes nothing yet as to the *Writing of this Paper.* It is said indeed, that upon *Captain Richardsons* speaking to Dr *Burnet* about my Lords making a *Speech;* he was answered by the Doctor, that *My Lord only intended to speak*

a Few Words *upon the Scaffold; And that what he had to say else,* He would leave in a Paper he intended to deliver to the Sheriffs.

There is more then enough said in Reflection upon this *Scandalous Paper;* that takes so much pains to possess the World that this Unhappy *Execution* was a *Murder.* There was, Effectually, a *Murder* in the *Case.* It was in the *Law* an Act of *Justice:* But it was in *Him* that *Poysoned this Unfortunate Gentleman* with that *Seditious Maxim* that brought him to the *Block*, and that afterwards Encouraged him to persist in't: It was in Him, I say, the *Basest*, and the most *Treacherous* of *Murders:* And I look upon *Julian*, with a Respect to *this Conspiracy* only as the Rule to the Example, *the* One Directs *the Rebellion; and the* Other Proves *it.*

THE END.

"INTER FOLIA FRUCTUS."

THE

CLOSING DAYS

ABOUT RICHMOND;

OR, THE

Last Days

OF

Sheridan's Cavalry.

BY

H. EDWIN TREMAIN,

Major and A.D.C., Brigadier-General, U.S.A.

"History is but the unrolled scroll of Prophecy."

JAMES A. GARFIELD.

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The Closing Days about Richmond.*

THE CAVALRY CORPS IN THE DEATH THROE OF THE REBELLION.

THE long lines of the Union and Rebel Armies were confronting each other about Petersburg. Within easy musket range, from the Charles City Road to Richmond, north of the James river, crossing both the Appomattox and the James, and running along the south side of Petersburg, away to the west beyond Hatcher's run, a distance of nearly forty miles, were two continuous lines of rifle-pits and forts, skirmish lines and batteries and earthworks of every conceivable size and shape; behind which on both sides stretched the camps of troops from every State of the Union. Lee's army on the north, representing the last hope of an effete and rebellious oligarchy; Grant's army on the south, representing the industry, intelligence, nationality, wealth, and power of an outraged and determined people.

While there was in one army that desperate valor which broke through the Union lines at dawn on the 25th of March, and captured Fort Steadman, there was with the other a calm, heroic determination, that consciousness of right and might which the same morning retook that stronghold from the enemy, and sent him "whirling" beyond his own entrenchments. The Rebel army were recovering from the shock, and before the Union troops had appreciated the extent of this handsome battle and victory, won by the Ninth Corps alone, the Lieutenant General had opened that "short, sharp, and decisive" campaign which, in *Eleven days*, resulted not only in the capture of

* This pamphlet, as I am informed by General De Peyster, of New York, to whom we are indebted for it, is extremely rare even in the United States.—E. G.

Petersburg and Richmond, but of the veteran host which upheld the rebellion, and with which the brave old army of the Potomac had waged three years of bloody combat.

Following the battle of Fort Steadman were important movements of troops from the north to the south side of the James river, and other new dispositions took place on the 27th and 28th of March. But Grant's army cannot be said to have commenced its campaign until Wednesday, March 29th. To give a full and accurate narrative of the great events happening during the succeeding eleven days is the professional duty of the future historian, by the light of all the evidence that time, labor, and official reports may produce; while, as the sailor must "spin his yarn," I only assert the privilege to chat away as we do around the bivouac fire by the dim twilight after the battle.

Starting, then, with the advance of Sheridan's cavalry early on the morning of Wednesday, March 29th, we soon learn that the army is in general motion. Sheridan's command consisted at this time entirely of cavalry, accompanied by a few light guns. It comprised two wings —one of them the two divisions formerly of the Army of the Potomac, but more recently having arrived with Sheridan from the Army of the Shenandoah, and who, en route, had just been engaged in the famous raid up the valley towards Lynchburg, and in effecting considerable damage to the James river canal, at that time of great service to the enemy. These two divisions were commanded respectively by Brevet Major General Custer and Brigadier General Devins, and formed a corps under the command of Brevet Major General Merritt. The other wing comprised the one division more recently with the Army of the Potomac, but now detached, and commanded by Maj.-General Crook.

General Devins's division was known as the First Division, and was composed of three brigades, under Colonel Stag, Colonel Fitzhugh, and General Gibbs. General Custer's was the Third division, his brigade commanders being Colonels Pennington, Wells, and Capehart. Major General Crook's command was known as the Second division—more familiarly, in the Army of the Potomac, as "Gregg's old division"—and comprised the brigades of General Davies, Brevet Brigadier-Generals Irwin, Gregg,* and Smith.

As soon as Sheridan had encamped with these troops on the 27th,

* This was not the General Gregg formerly in command of this division, whose name was David McGregor Gregg, and who was Brevet Major General of Volunteers and a captain in the Regular Service. He resigned from the Army in January 1865.

between the Norfolk and Weldon and Norfolk and Petersburg railroads, and in rear of the Army of the Potomac, a column of the Army of the James, under Major General Ord, and comprising troops selected from the Twenty-fourth corps, under Major General Gibbon, and from the Twenty-fifth (colored,) under General Birnly, passed through the camps, en route to the lines of the Second and Fifth corps, which they relieved on the morning of the 29th.

Thus, as the cavalry column moved that morning towards Ream's station, there were also moving from their old quarters the Second and Fifth corps, both in a South-westerly direction. The Second crossed Hatcher's run by the Vaughn road, and the Fifth lower down the stream. Thus the grand advance which was destined to decide the fate of the rebellion had fairly begun. Every foot of country over which the Army then trod will become historical. Unknown, uninviting places—many of them baptised in blood—will receive a name to be chronicled as a shrine for future patriot pilgrims. Know, then, that the first of these localities reached by Sheridan's column was Ream's station, and as you sit by the roadside while the troopers are passing the old fortifications of this field of sanguinary strife, you may hear each officer and soldier talking with earnest gesture to his comrade: "There is where our regiment was," says one; "Here is the place where the 'rebs' broke through," says another. "Don't you remember those woods? How thick the 'Johnnies' were in there!" exclaims a third. "Yes," says a fourth; "and here is where Hancock's headquarters were for a while." "I tell you," added the enthusiastic cavalier, after a moment's contemplation, "the 'rebs' played the devil with the footpads that day. If it had not been for our dismounted cavalry, they'd all been 'gobbled;'" and many other such scraps of converse would drop from the ranks as one espied a familiar landmark.

It is so natural for a horseman to entertain a high appreciation of his own importance when alongside of a pedestrian that cavalry-men often feign a want of respect for the slow and steady infantry soldier.

By nine o'clock in the morning the head of the column had reached Rowanty creek, a stream formed by the junction of the famous Hatcher's run and Gravelly run at a crossing known as Malone's bridge. Like many other instances of American nomenclature, the name failed to describe the place, there being no bridge. Having been a picket post of the enemy for a long time, the bridge

has been destroyed, and we must halt to rebuild it. The stream was about fifty feet wide, with a bottomless bottom, and the soil on its bank of the same character. The pontoon train was ordered up, and in the course of three or four hours, by the assistance of the piers of the old bridge and the excellent oak timber which the woods afforded, a substantial re-constructure was put up.

It was here that, during the previous advance of the Army to Hatcher's run, in February ('65), that an interesting skirmish occurred between the Thirteenth Pennsylvania Cavalry and the Thirteenth Virginia (rebels) who were picketing this locality at the time, and in which the latter were charged and routed, losing many prisoners before they could destroy the bridge. This may partially explain why on this occasion the enemy offered no opposition. The column now moved towards Dinwiddie Court-house, its head reaching there during the afternoon, without further incident than the dispersion of a party of the Sixteenth North Carolina who were attempting to barricade the roads leading to the village. By dark it was learned that Warner's (fifth) Corps had crossed the run, and was within communicating distance a few miles back on the highway known as Vaughn road. Musketry firing had been heard from that direction during the afternoon, and it now proved to have been considered a battle; it certainly was a severe contest, and like so many of those Virginian combats, fought in the woods with musketry only; yet, while the losses approximated five hundred on each side, it was comparatively resultless. The enemy withdrew at its conclusion, believing us too strong for further aggression.

The roads the cavalry had been travelling were very bad. Custer's division, which was in the rear guarding the ammunition and medical trains, had scarcely made a quarter day's march; but, with well advanced lines, Sheridan, with Crook and Devins, halted at Dinwiddie.

Dinwiddie Court-house is a small village, about thirteen miles from Petersburg, and before the war, of about two hundred inhabitants; and, although the country seat, it seemed to have contained when in its prime not over half-a-dozen dwellings. Most of them were now deserted; all looked very uncomfortable and dilapidated, the most inviting one being a roomy, large frame building, of country tavern appearance, with a long portico in front, adapted to the use of three-legged chairs and tobacco-spitting loungers. Conveniently situated, close to the roadside, it commands, in a most appropriate connection, an excellent view of the Court-house and jail opposite. These latter

edifices were once, *pro forma*, the chief sources of attraction to the town; but a good-sized room off the porch, with an elongated counter, now empty, very much resembled a "bar," and suggested that the neighbouring "planters"—as every simple farmer south is aristocratically termed—might find in front thereof exciting and congenial employment. The Court-house betokened a more modern appearance than the specimens of rural architecture surrounding it, and was built of red brick, freshly painted. The roof, as though tottering under the unusual burden of new repairs and improvements thereupon, was bolstered up by immense timbers supporting its eaves. The Court-room, in the upper story, formed a most excellent public dormitory, and the various legal and County offices, on the first floor, gave employment to many a wandering soldier. The floors were irreverently strewn with abstracts of title, venerable mortgages, copies of deeds, and other such interesting matter as appertains to a County Clerk's office. This being one of the oldest counties in Virginia, many of the documents were yellow with age, some bearing date as far back as the time of Governor Dinwiddie, and for aught I know, furnishing golden opportunities to the American antiquarian. More readable trash was, however, discovered in the post-office adjoining, where several rebel mails were ransacked, and in the absence of the wagons which were to have brought us some supper, served as our only repast, for the night. Close by the court-house stood a neat little frame church, prettily trimmed inside with evergreen and with neat appointments. Respected by the soldiers, the church though much occupied as a convenient shelter from the storm, was more fortunate than its neighbouring buildings, and escaped serious injury.

Adjoining stood a gloomy and desolate iron-barred stone jail, enclosed by a high, substantial fence, and presenting as uninviting and forbidding an abode for criminals, or even for negroes, as the "chivalry" could desire.

Near to the court-house were also long sheds and stalls for hundreds of horses; and it did not take a very great stretch of imagination to picture to oneself the groups which in former times might arrive here during "court-week" to kill time, to patronize the tavern, to talk "State's rights," perhaps to fight sham duels, and to trade in horse-flesh, and man-flesh.

Now all was deserted. A dilapidated white woman or some faithful black might here and there be found representing a homestead, and beseeching officers to afford them a "guard." The public house

was partially occupied by a few poor white people, refugees from some other locality; but, with these exceptions, there were few inhabitants in the town.

The place had once before been visited by the Union Troops during the movements of the Army of the Potomac cavalry, preceding the battle of Hatcher's run, in February, 1865.

The Boyd town plank-road— so called probably out of respect to the very ancient period when the road was of plank, of which fact abundant evidence, most annoying to travellers, yet remains—runs through Dinwiddie Court-house, and until quite recently had afforded the enemy one of his most useful roads of communication.

Sheridan planted his head-quarters flag in front of the venerable tavern, and with himself and staff thus, as a matter of course, "put up" at the best hotel in the town.

The next day (Thursday, the 30th) was one of those gloomy and stormy days that in Virginia often have interfered seriously with our military prospects—one of those days which made campaigners cross and anxious. While but little actual progress was made in the operations of the Army, prodigies of labor were performed. The artillery, ammunition, and supply trains were almost immovable, and every corps on the march must build its corduroy road. General Custer was performing this duty for the cavalry; while Merritt's other division, under Devins, was, early in the morning, started in the advance on the road from Dinwiddie towards Ford's Station on the Southside railroad. They had not gone far, however, before the enemy's cavalry were encountered, and a running fight took place, which resulted in finding the enemy's infantry well posted at Five Forks. Our cavalry was then, in turn, repulsed, but not without serious casualties among officers and men, principally of the Regular Brigade.

During the day a portion of the Twenty-fourth corps had completed the line of the main army between the right of the Second Corps and the left of the Sixth; so that, by night, without any serious fighting, and only some slight skirmishing, Grant's army had taken up a continuous line of battle extending from the James river on the right to a point towards the left on the White Oak road, within four or five miles of Five Forks. His troops were disposed in the order of the Ninth Corps on the extreme right, to the left of which rested the Sixth, then the troops of the Army of the James, under General Ord, then the Second and Fifth Corps. On the north bank of the James the troops were principally colored, and, under the command of

Major General Weitzel, occupied the old lines already established. The cavalry, under Sheridan, remained holding the extreme left and rear at Dinwiddie Court-house, and made demonstrations on the roads leading to the Southside railroad, thus occupying the attention of the strong force of the enemy now known to be posted on the road from the Court-house to Ford's station, and at a point where it is crossed by the White Oak road, running to Petersburg. Other smaller roads also intersect here, and from their number the locality has been popularly designated Five Forks.

The remarkable position of Grant's immense army challenges comparison. A continuous line of battle more than twenty miles long is an anomaly in war. But if the troops north of the James be included in this estimation, there are eight miles more to be added. The night was dark and stormy. Every soldier slept on his arms, with the soft, wet ground for his couch, ready at a moment's warning to spring to the deadly conflict which each one expected at daylight.

Meanwhile, in the rear of this extended host, the mules floundered, teamsters swore, the wagons upset, the vigorous pioneers swung their axes, the woods echoed with the heavy thunder of falling trees, and the foundation of the roads, which seemed to have seceded from beneath our feet, began to be secured on the timber of the forest. Thus only could the small trains which had been ordered to move with the troops be brought near enough to the new lines now assumed to render their supplies available and to be safe from a dash of the enemy's cavalry.

A quiet, disagreeable, stormy day, of which little would be said in the reports, and in whose history we can record nothing brilliant, the second day of this wonderful campaign, was passed none the less laborious and fruitful.

Friday morning, March 31, dawned with weather no more promising. Sheridan and Crook had again passed a night at their headquarters in the old Dinwiddie tavern. Custer with his whole force was still at work extricating and pushing forward the necessary trains, while the remainder of the Cavalry Corps, under Devins, was disposed in a threatening attitude toward the enemy, who were defending the Southside railroad. Crook maintained the communication with the infantry of the Army, and watched the country to the left and west of the Court-house.

The scouts this morning confirmed the news of the whereabouts of that main part of the rebel cavalry who before the opening of the

campaign were encamped near Stony Creek Station, on the Petersburg and Weldon railroad. Stony Creek is a tributary of the Nattaway river, and runs in a south-easterly direction through Dinwiddie County. Stony Creek is a deep and swift stream, at most seasons of the year hardly fordable for horsemen. The railroad bridge across it had been destroyed by the Union troops during the winter, but the station at that point had been re-occupied by the rebels and used as a depot for supplies, whence they were wagoned around the lines of the Union army, and by the Boyd-town plank road to Petersburg. Along this route, too, was the main telegraph and mail communication to Weldon and other imporant points South. It was at this convenient location that Lee had established his principal cavalry camps, which at the same time served as a strong corps of observation against any expedition of Union troops toward North Carolina. A movement of this character was, indeed, every day becoming more likely, as Sherman was steadily advancing northward.

The sudden movement of Grant's armies to the west, with the stormy weather, which, while a serious cause of delay in other respects, had swollen these streams in the rear, had prevented the annoyance of reconnoitring parties from this force of the enemy, and had completely severed this cavalry at Stony Creek from Lee.

To rejoin or communicate with him, therefore, a long detour was necessary to the west of Dinwiddie Court-house, occupying with the condition of the roads—at this time more than a day's march.

Of this campaign it has been aptly remarked that Grant commanded his own and Lee's army. It appears, then, that the performance of this tedious and uninteresting march was the duty assigned by Grant as the most convenient employment for the rebel cavalry while his own dispositions were being completed. This force, however, did not consist of more than a division, so much cavalry some time previously having been sent by Lee to harass the march of Sherman in North Carolina. But by Friday morning this command had arrived along Chamberlain's Creek, a small run west of the Court-house, tributary to Stony Creek, and in a position to co-operate with the enemy in the vicinity of Five Forks.

Early Friday morning, also, Warren's corps moved to concentrate near a locality known as Butler's house on the plank road, not far from its intersection by the Quaker road, which latter highway leads direct to the White Oak road and thence to the coveted Southside or Lynchburg and Petersburg railroad. The heavy storm

which had been annoying our Army seemed to have spent its force, and during the forenoon the sun essayed its assistance in our behalf and shone quite pleasantly.

The Fifth Corps under Warren, with Ayres's division leading, were by ten o'clock ready to advance, and moved to dislodge the enemy, and to gain the White Oak road already mentioned. If successful in this endeavour, the enemy at Five Forks and in front of Sheridan, in order to maintain his communication and co-operation with the forces about Petersburg, would have been compelled to withdraw at least to the north side of Hatcher's Run—which is here a narrow crooked stream, with rugged and densely wooded banks. This was emphatically what is termed in military parlance a "difficult country." After making their way through marshy pines and thick forests, over swampy ditches or across uncertain quicksands, the lines of the infantry pushed forward with some skirmishing, and found the rebels well posted before the desired road was reached.

Here, now, was likely to be a battle ; but how much of a one was ever fought will probably never be known, unless described by some one of its actual participants. The enemy's warm reception broke our advance, and it gave way in confusion. Taking instant advantage of this, away dashed the enemy from his field-works with an exhibition of that old *esprit*, which in times gone by—as at Malvern Hill—had flung its impetuous battalions before our lines. But now—they were successful and swept everything before them. Our men found themselves retracing their steps with greater alacrity than convenience.

Ayres fell back on Crawford, and his division in turn on Griffin. Even before some of the troops had yet moved to perform the part assigned to them in the day's operations, and while they still rested in bivouac, the rebels interfered with their domestic comforts. As though wanting breath for further pursuit or astonished at their success, after driving the Fifth Corps back to the Boyd-town plank road, the pursuit was discontinued. The scenes of this morning are related as disgraceful. There was little artillery used, and after the first few volleys of attack, there was one impetuous retreat to the music of a pattering skirmish fire, with now and then a round of musketry as its only redeeming feature. As remarked by general officers high in command at the time, the troops seemed to be lost to all sense of influence and authority of their officers.

The causes of this unfortunate affair must be sought for among those of the inexplicable panics which sometimes seize and control

large bodies of men, and of which in this as in other wars there are in the history of both armies examples for the study of the philosopher.

Great anxiety would now be cast over the operations of the army; but General Humphreys, who was commanding the Second Corps on the immediate right of the Fifth, on learning the position of affairs sent Miles's division to attack the enemy in flank. Scarcely then had the pursuit ceased before this was vigorously undertaken, and the rebels in their turn were driven back again to the woods.

The Fifth Corps, too, were soon again rallied and advanced, Griffin's division this time leading. The ground lost in the morning was re-occupied, the works where the enemy in force were first encountered most gallantly charged and captured; and one of the objects of the day's operations accomplished by the occupation of a position on the White Oak road.

Meanwhile, however, with a quick appreciation of their temporary advantage over the Fifth Corps, the rebels had turned their attention to Sheridan, and with a strong force of light infantry under Pickett attempted to discover an available point on his lines, if the spider-legged position of the cavalry corps at this time, with detachments, patrols, guards and picket points in every direction, with propriety can be said to have formed a "line."

During the morning General Devins's division was moved forward in order to obtain possession of Five Forks. Davies's brigade, too, of Crook's division, had been sent to his support, and posted to the west of the road leading from Dinwiddie to Five Forks, in order to defend the fords over Chamberlain's Creek. The remainder of Crook's division watched the crossings of this and Stony Creek further to the south and west. General Gibb's* brigade remained on the main road about two miles from the Court-house, while Devins with his remaining two brigades, under Stagg and Fitzhugh, pushed on for Five Forks.

General Thomas C. Devins is most emphatically a self-made man. Before the war he was quite prominently connected with the militia in New York, and he entered the service as Colonel at the head of the Sixth regiment New York volunteer cavalry. His command was long known in the Army of the Potomac as one of the few cavalry regiments which in the earlier campaigns of that Army could be deemed thoroughly reliable. It was held in the highest esteem by the late General John Buford, between whom and General Devins

* First Division (Devins).

there grew up a strong mutual respect and attachment. While under General Buford's command Devins was frequently recommended for promotion, but the unfortunate death of the former—than whom no cavalry general ever associated with the Army of the Potomac was ever held in higher estimation—prevented the subject from being pressed at an opportune moment. Devins continued as Colonel to command a brigade of cavalry until near the expiration of his first three years' term of service, when he was ordered home with his regiment on "veteran furlough." He had been constantly in the field, and had rendered most valuable services in many campaigns, as the official reports record; but his native modesty served to make him probably less known in the Union Army than to the rebels against whom he so frequently fought. Although having served with the same rank for three years, with a true patriotism he re-enlisted with his regiment for the war. He attracted the notice of Sheridan early in the first Virginia campaigns of that officer, and after the battle of Winchester he was deputed to bear to the war department some trophies of the victory.

Shortly after presenting the captured colours he received his first promotion in an appointment as brevet brigadier-general, the Secretary of War taking pains at the same time to express his regret that there was not just then a vacancy of a full brigadiership to which he might be appointed. Not long afterward, however, he received the appointment, and at the close of the last campaign was brevetted major-general.

His blunt soldiership, sound judgment, his prompt and skilful dispositions for battle, his long period of active service, his bull-dog tenacity, and his habitual reliability fully entitled him to the sobriquet among his officers and soldiers as the old "war horse," "Sheridan's hard hitter," and the like.

General Devins found the force opposing him near Five Forks to consist of infantry as well as cavalry. With some dismounted regiments our men slowly forced their way over the broken country adjoining the road, though not without some loss, until they reached the cross roads. But he was not allowed to remain there undisturbed.

The rebels moved south along Chamberlain's Creek in a southerly direction, and seemed desirous of crossing and thus to turn our left. They attempted it in front of Davies's brigade, but as he had a gal-

lant regiment in front of them armed with "seven-shooters * this effort was at first unsuccesful. Now their cavalry tried to force a crossing in front of Smith's brigade, posted lower down the stream. But this resultless skirmishing did not suit some of our high-spirited troopers. Those in this portion of the field belonged to that command † which was not detached with other cavalry from the Army of the Potomac to serve in the valley of the Shenandoah with Sheridan, and after the glorious conquests of their comrades in this beautiful country, the reunion of the commands at this time produced a generous rivalry which was highly inspiriting. Here an opportunity for a handsome "dash" presented itself. Certainly the enemy could not have infantry so distant from their main lines at Petersburg, and so liable to be completely cut off from communication therewith at any time by our cavalry; and should they have only cavalry in front of us what do we care for that? So thought some gallant fellows who sought and obtained authority to cross and attack. A battalion of the Second New York mounted rifles under Major Chadbourne (of the First Maine cavalry), boldly forded the creek in the face of the rebel skirmishers, scattering or capturing them; and charging vigorously up the road, thought theirs an easy victory; when lo! the little band came upon a "hornet's nest." The woods about them were alive with rebel infantry who considered them a sure and easy capture. Major Chadbourne was seriously wounded, and with others fell into the hands of the enemy; but the remainder cut their way back again with the important information gained by the exploit, while the rebel cavalry rallied, and in their turn now followed our men in pursuit. They were allowed to cross, and when fairly over were very seriously handled, losing Colonel Savage and other leading officers and many men, and were driven back again in great confusion.

By this time the rebel infantry in front of the Fifth Corps were moving in strong force through Five Forks and toward the left of Sheridan's lines. Again the crossing where Davies was posted was vigorously attacked and as stoutly defended. But the stream was fordable, and soon both above and below him, on the right and on the left of his line, this gallant little officer found the rebel infantry pouring across the creek.

Meanwhile Devins had been obliged to retire from his advanced position on the White Oak road, and was assuming a line to protect

* Repeating Rifles. † Second Cavalry Division.

himself as well as the right flank of Davies. Devins, too, now found rebels on three sides of him. Which way should he face? On what plan was he required to fight? His orders did not cover the present emergency, and his military education induced him always to fight unless positive instructions contemplated otherwise.

Having only at this point the two brigades of Fitzhugh and Stagg, Devins posted them across the main road from Dinwiddie to Five Forks, and assumed a line from Gravelly Run on the right to Davies's brigade on the left, giving orders to hold these positions, and sending his last unoccupied staff-officer to inform General Merritt or General Sheridan of the state of affairs. Devins himself, now accompanied by only one orderly, galloped down the main road after his other brigade under General Gibbs which had been left in the rear as a reserve. Pistt, pistt, pistt, greeted his ears as he rode hastily by and heeded not the deadly "minies."

Soon, however, a stern voice directly in front commanded "Halt, thar; surrender you d—— Yankee!"—not addressing him by his official title. But the veteran "War Horse" was not yet ready to surrender. Quickly wheeling his horse he spurred beyond the temporary jurisdiction of his rebellious countryman, regardless of the harmless bullets which followed him, and returned to the immediate direction of the troops he had just posted. It must have been a delightful reflection to appreciate that every avenue of communication between the main army and his little band of troopers was occupied in force by the rebel infantry. Is it a wonder that many men become prematurely gray in war? Davies, with his regiment dismounted, had made a gallant stand against overwhelming numbers; but had been obliged to give way, and he was now retiring by the right flank, and approaching Devins's command. An aide had succeeded in conveying orders to General Devins to move all the detached force then with him across the country to the plank road by which he should march to Dinwiddie, and assist the cavalry there engaged. This was indeed the only movement left for these troops, and orders for its execution were being anticipated by their commanders. Yet it was by no means an easy task slowly and orderly to withdraw from the immediate front of a successful enemy, well disciplined and equipped—for indeed these troops were the flower of Lee's army—a dismounted cavalry force out of ammunition, wearied from several hours' severe fighting, shaken in the loss of officers, and encumbered in a thick and broken country with an unwieldy crowd of "lead horses."

It may be interesting to unmilitary readers to say that these "lead horses" form a most important feature in our cavalry warfare. When a command is obliged to dismount, which frequently occurs in wooded country, every fourth man remains mounted to care for four horses. Under a subordinate officer the horses are then located in an open field, if possible, sheltered from the fire and observation of the enemy, and where the animals will be liable to no sudden panic. Of course with any considerable change in the relative positions of the troops these horses must be moved to correspond, an operation often extremely hazardous. So on this memorable day to manœuvre these masses of led horses for miles across a thickly wooded country without any defined roads, was no inconsiderable task. Did you ever ride one horse and at the same time lead two or three others? Try it in a grove of young trees; imagine an enemy in close pursuit, when consequently you are rather hurried; you may feel well assured that if two of the animals go with you to the left of a tree, the other two will inevitably choose the opposite side. Under these circumstances is it not quite likely that you would feel some solicitude and perhaps yield to profanity? Perhaps not. Yet I do opine that this was one of the chief causes which has led to the reputation to cavalry-men expressed in the popular belief that the highest perfection of profane accomplishment is "to swear like a trooper." Well! on this day horses and trees were seriously intermingled. Moreover the saddles were filled with blankets, overcoats, rations, sabres, forage, "nicknacks," and all the paraphernalia appertaining to a campaigner; while the uncertain paths were occasionally obstructed by rail fences. These were among the impedimenta. But in the lines of rebel soldiers who maintained a continual fire, and whom our dismounted men were endeavouring to keep at a respectful distance, there were strong powers of acceleration.

The results of the retreat were various—depending in many instances on the temper and disposition of the "fourth man" who led the horses, as well as on the judgment of officers; but on the whole highly creditable to all concerned. Few horses not shot were lost, and the enemy gained no very material advantage in the pursuit. On the contrary, the rebels seemed much perplexed by the stubbornness and fertility of resource displayed by the three brigades of Davies, Fitzhugh, and Stagg, which toward evening reached the plank road in tolerably good order. Ere this, however, the enemy had desisted from the pursuit for reasons about to be mentioned.

These operations were by no means the chief among those of the Battle of Dinwiddie. Indeed this scene was distant from the Court-house itself. A few weeks previously, too, a skirmish did take place directly at the Court-house, while the present conflict occurred chiefly about the country to the north-west of the village proper. Hence, for the sake of history, this engagement should be distinguished as the Battle of Dinwiddie.

Meanwhile Cook and Custer were not idle. Custer was improving the good weather, and worked vigorously at moving up the troublesome trains. In the course of the afternoon's engagement he was ordered to leave one brigade to attend to the wagons, while with the two others he should repair to the scene of action.

Crook had early in the afternoon drawn Gregg's brigade away from the village toward the field. Smith's brigade— which, it will be remembered, was posted to the west to check the enemy from crossing Chamberlain's Creek—found itself constantly engaged with rebel cavalry attempting to make the ford. The main portion of the enemy's cavalry appeared to be here, and obstinately persistent in their desire to cross. With hastily constructed defences on the bank of the creek, Smith as obstinately opposed them. He had a good position on a wooded crest, with his left resting on a dense swamp jungle. His right, however, necessarily remained rather exposed, inviting attack, should the rebels succeed in crossing by some of the more fordable localities above his front. This, as we have seen, their infantry finally accomplished, compelling Davies, and in turn Devins also, to retire.

This stream was along here one or two miles from the main road to Dinwiddie, which important highway was secure to us only so long as the enemy did not cross the creek. Sheridan had just left Devins comparatively quiet, and rode down to see what Crook was doing. While here an officer from Davies reported to him that a large force of the enemy had crossed both above and below the lines of his brigade. Sheridan inquired of him if they were infantry, to which the officer replied in the affirmative. But the little general doubted, and vigorously directed the aide to go back and to say that the crossing must be held, adding quite as earnestly, "I don't want any d——d squadron fighting—everything must *go in.*" But everything by this time had been "in"; and in a few moments later another officer, in attempting to communicate with the same troops unexpectedly encountered the rear of a rebel line of battle. On

learning of this Sheridan was all energy and fire. Gregg's and Gibb's brigades were quickly ordered to follow the same path, and to charge the rebel rear; and away they rode to seek it. The country was hilly and wooded, not favourable to a cavalry charge; but the rebels were soon found, and their attention diverted from the further pursuit of Devins in his movement toward the Boyd-town plank road. Thus annoyed, the enemy faced about, and were deterred from a movement which, had it been long continued, would have seriously endangered the main lines of the army (or, as Sheridan expresses it, "taken in flank and rear the infantry line of the army of the Potomac.")

Now occurred another hardly-contested fight. The forces against Sheridan comprised the best infantry division (Pickett's) of Lee's army, Wise's independent brigade of infantry, and Fitzhugh Lee's, Rosser's, and W. H. F. Lee's cavalry commands; while in the immediate front of this formidable array the Union forces now mustered but three small brigades,* one of which—Smith's—had been engaged for several hours.

It was quite late in the afternoon; the sun was shining pleasantly, and the field of battle was now in quite an open country, favourable to the observation, but filled with treacherous quicksands.

To the careless observer the surface of such localities, so common in Virginia, bear no peculiar marks of distinction from the ground about them, but woe to the horseman who unwittingly ventures. Many an eager courier was unhorsed and half buried by these hidden enemies. Appreciating the unfavorable character of the ground for unwonted operations, and the strength of the opposing forces, as well as the importance of holding Dinwiddie, where so many roads converged, officers examined their watches with impatient anxiety to determine how many hours of daylight might remain for this unequal contest. It was hoped that by skilful manœuvring Sheridan might hold out until dark, when fighting would cease and new dispositions be made for the morrow's work. No other course could now be attempted.

Accordingly every nerve was strained; all was life, activity, and industry. Sheridan seemed to have infused his own indomitable spirit among his subordinates. New lines across the main road were quickly established, where the troops on retiring were ordered to halt, and a slight barricade of rails speedily constructed for its defence by

* Smith's and Irwin Gregg's, under Crook, and Gibb's in Devin's division.

Sheridan's own escort.* Here the troops were ordered to rally, and here Smith's gallant but exhausted brigade was directed to retire when the brigade could no longer be of service in the defence of Chamberlain's Crossing.

If the enemy could not be conquered to-day, at least he must be overawed. A few pieces of artillery, which, on account of the character of the country, could not have been used before, were now brought effectively into action. Every band in the command had already been eligibly posted, and instructed to sound their inspiring strains until further orders. While one attempted "Hail Columbia" another accompanied the artillery with "Lanigan's Ball," and a third essayed variations on the theme "Johnny fill up the bowl," with "Yankee Doodle" as a *grande finale.* These selections were not quite so monotonous as those of one faithful band who, without stopping to recover breath, again and again repeated "Hail to the Chief," until the proximity of advancing rebels and the wounding of the "E flat" warned the musicians to retire. Now these strains were not of that high professional order emulated by Maretzek at the Academy or Dodworth at the Central Park, yet I doubt if either ever was so felicitous. The music animated and inspired the troops. It doubtless awed the enemy, and during this part of the day was certainly one of the chief features of the battle; while the clamor and display of this afternoon's fight have subjected it to an unfortunate camparison with an episode in Chinese warfare.

The rattle of musketry in front of the sharp ring of our carbines, accompanied with a lively tenor the booming notes of the artillery, and the "spirit-stirring" bands added a wholesome zest to the exciting *whist! whist!* of the flixing minie.

The new line of light breastworks were soon completed and occupied by our fatigued and resolute troops. Their ammunition was well-nigh exhausted, and a fresh supply had not yet arrived. Custer's head-quarters' flag, however, now appeared on the field, and his troops were following. The setting sun gilded the fringe of the lofty forest trees, whose long, peaceful shadows seemed to mock the wicked scenes of strife, while in those lingering rays, as they shone on this irregular and unequal combat, there was a silent influence, imparting renewed vigor and buoyant spirits to the gallant defenders of the Union.

* Under the personal direction of Colonel Forsyth, of Sheridan's staff, a gallant and most accomplished aide-de-camp.

The enemy do not press with energy. He has thus far gained no prominent advantage: Dinwiddie can be held. The moment is opportune and must not be lost,—so Sheridan thinks as he gathers up the reins resting on the neck of his favorite black horse, the same trusty steed made famous by that "Ride to Winchester."

The General hands his field-glass to an orderly, and, as a fresh force of the enemy appears, he dashes wildly across the fields, his staff and color-bearer following. The treacherous ground unhorses some of the party, yet Sheridan's animal is true, and bears his rider safely along the enthusiastic lines. He waves his hat, and returns the sturdy cheers of the soldiers, while the bands more fiercely than ever blast discordant tunes. The rounds are quickly finished. Every soldier has seen his general and every regiment is reinforced by a new battalion of confidence. But there is no time to be lost.

At this moment Custer's troops (two brigades under Colonels Pennington and Capehart) file into the fields. The enemy, too, have made new dispositions, and in front of Lord's battery there emerges from the woods a handsome and imposing line of battle. Skirmishers precede it and fire a few scattering shots, which our carbineers return. On, on it advances, a long, single, unsupported line of infantry sweeping over the undulating plain and scarcely deigning a reply to the warning compliments from our artillery. It approaches almost to the very mouth of our guns! Can our exhausted carbineers and gunners long compete with well-organized volleys of musketry from fresh battalions?

Custer's men are trotting to the front and forming, and as he himself dashes from the side of Sheridan to execute the orders for a charge, he is called back again. "General! General!" is repeated in a tone still louder and with unmistakable authority, "you understand?" says Sheridan; "I want you to *give* it to them." Custer, as though impatient at an unnecessary delay, hurriedly replies, "Yes, yes, I'll give it to them;" and with his broad brimmed hat, red necktie, and flaxen, boyish curls, he spurs away to lead the closing charge.

The ground was yet new to him, and as his squadrons formed with great difficulty on an uncertain quick sand, it was hardly possible to believe that the entire field before him was of the same treacherous mire. Away then for the charge and scatter those audacious rebel bayonets with the hardy stroke of sabre. It was a failure. There

was *no* charge. Gallantry and valor availed naught. Riders were dismounted, horses plunged, and squadrons floundered in the soft, treacherous soil over which they would gallop.

Some prudent and better informed subordinate, foreseeing this emergency, had prepared a dismounted battalion to meet the advancing rebels, and they were yet held at bay. Custer withdrew his troopers and quickly disposed them to fight on foot. The enemy soon desisted from further aggression, and night only closed the laborious and unequal contest.

The fighting to-day had been entirely dismounted, and darkness found the horses of the different regiments in considerable confusion. The woods in the rear were filled with stray pack-mules and contrabands, while every open space was crowded with an almost immovable mass of "led horses." Davies and Devins had marched without further incident by the Boyd-town plank road as ordered, and shortly after dark joined the remainder of the troops near Dinwiddie.

While the different commands which had become more or less scattered were being collected, as well as the darkness would permit, Sheridan returned to the old tavern where he had already spent two nights, and in a despatch to General Grant thus briefly summed up the results of the day's operations :—

CAVALRY HEADQUARTERS,
DINWIDDIE COURT-HOUSE,
March 31, 1865.

Lieutenant-General Grant, commanding Armies United States.

The enemy's cavalry attacked me about 10 o'clock to-day on the road coming in from the west and a little north of Dinwiddie Court-house. This attack was very handsomely repulsed by General Smith's brigade of Crook's division, and the enemy was driven across Chamberlain's Creek. Shortly afterward the enemy's infantry attacked on the same creek in heavy force, and drove in General Davies's brigade, and, advancing rapidly, gained the forks of the road at J. Boissean's. This forced Devins, who was in advance, and Davies, to cross to Boyd-town road. General Gregg's brigade and General Gibb's brigade, who had been toward Dinwiddie, then attacked the enemy in the rear very handsomely. This stopped the march toward the left of our infantry, and finally caused them to turn toward Dinwiddie and attack us in heavy force. The enemy then again attacked at Chamberlain's Creek and forced Smith's position. At this time Capehart's and Pennington's brigades of Custer's division came up, and a very handsome fight occurred.

The enemy have gained some ground, but we still hold in front of Dinwiddie, and Davies and Devins are coming down the Boyd-town road to join us.

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The opposing force was Pickett's division, Wise's independent brigade of infantry, and Fitzhugh Lee's, Rosser's and W. H. Lee's cavalry commands.

The men have behaved splendidly. Our loss in killed and wounded will probably number 450 men ; very few were lost as prisoners.

We have of the enemy a number of prisoners. This force is too strong for us. I will hold out to Dinwiddie Court-house until I am compelled to leave.

Our fighting to-day was all dismounted.

P. H. SHERIDAN, *Major-General.*

Thus closed the Battle of Dinwiddie and the third day of their wonderful campaign. Unless it was the lodgment effected on the White Oak road by a portion of the Fifth Corps, the day cannot be said to have ended with any material advantage to the Union troops. Yet its results were hopeful. The enemy's forces were skilfully handled and swiftly manœuvred. When met by our cavalry, disparity of numbers should have gained some more decided result. But the "Confederates" appeared to lack their old *elan* of Chancellorsville, Gettysburgh, and the Wilderness. Except when their cavalry attempted a mounted charge, their spirits seemed to have departed. Energetic, close attack and persuit near Dinwiddie by the formidable array on the field at the close of the day's action, would have scattered the defiant troopers of Sheridan in every direction, and doubtless given the enemy the possession of the little village at the Court-house and the important roads there converging. The rebels contented themselves with resting for the night so near to our lines that the conversation of their pickets was plainly audible to our artillerists.

Doubtless the enemy hoped on the morrow to reap the fruits of a decisive victory ; and should no new disposition be made, there was every earnest of their success. But their golden opportunity was gone. Had Lee been apprised of the real condition of affairs on the extreme left of Grant's line along Sheridan's front just before dark, he might have hurled five thousand effective infantry against the same number of scattered, exhausted, and retreating cavalry, with ammunition expended, and encumbered with horses, perfectly useless as they were led through thick woods or across the swampy fields. He would have fallen on the trains, turned the flank of Grant's lines, been ready the next morning to attack the rear of the Fifth and Second Corps as they faced an enemy along Hatcher's Run, and perhaps so far succeeded in the campaign as to compel General Grant to retire again temporarily to his old works.

The original scheme of operations for the cavalry under Sheridan, when it first marched from camp on the 29th of March, contemplated

a raid on the Southside and other railroads converging at Burkes ville, with a march thereafter toward Sherman in North Carolina, or in case this might not be deemed advisable such subsequent movements as Sheridan's best discretion might indicate. The temporary repulse of the battle of Dinwiddie completely frustrated any part of these plans, and there is the highest authority for believing Prat when the news was first learned by General Grant the original orders were so far countermanded as to determine upon a return of the troops for the present to their old camps about Petersburg. The subsequent reports of Sheridan and others, however, quickly changed this scheme, and with perfect confidence in the latter's ability to hold his own and to take care of himself, the orders for a retreat were almost instantly countermanded. So that, in reality, they only reached a few of the most prominent generals. Thus was the campaign quickly changed from what would have been a temporary failure to a success as complete as any in the history of war. Heedless of a first repulse, obstinacy and perseverance transformed it into a victory. Another instance too, of the remarkable adaptability of the lieutenant-general to every emergency of the hour.

The night was not spent in idleness. An army may have rest yet not suffer for vigilance. Sheridan was aroused early in the night by the reception of an answer to his despatch to General Grant already quoted, and as he read saw an exhibition of the same dauntless, persevering and successful spirit, which on that memorable occasion at Fort Donelson informed the rebel general "I propose to move immediately upon your works."

DABNEY MILLS,
March 31st, 1865, 10.05 p.m.

Major-General Sheridan,

The Fifth Corps has been ordered to your support. Two divisions will go by J. Boissean's, and one down the Boyd-town road. In addition to this I have sent M'Kenzie's cavalry, which will reach you by the Vaughan road.

All these forces, except the cavalry, should reach you by 12 to-night.

You will assume command of the whole force sent to operate with you, and use it to the best of your ability to destroy the force which your command has fought so gallantly to-day.

U. S. GRANT, *Lieutenant-General.*

By a glance at the map it will be seen that the house of J. Boissean, here mentioned, was near the main Five Forks road, and a force of infantry there would very likely prove of serious inconvenience to any rebels who might be on the same road further south.

In pursuance of General Grant's instructions the probable arrival of two divisions of the Fifth Corps at this point during the night promised the satisfactory results so succinctly pointed out in the following letter of instructions to General Warren.

CAVALRY HEADQUARTERS,
DINWIDDIE COURT-HOUSE,
April 1, 1865, 3 a.m.

To Major-General Warren, commanding Fifth Army Corps.

I am holding in front of Dinwiddie Court-house on the road leading to Five Forks, for three-quarters of a mile, with General Custer's division. The enemy are in his immediate front, lying so as to cover the road just this side of A. Adam's house, which leads out across Chamberlain's bed or run. I understand you have a division at J. Boissean's; if so, you are in rear of the enemy's line, and almost on his flanks. I will hold on here. Possibly they may attack Custer at daylight; if so, attack instantly and with full force. Attack at daylight anyhow and I will make an effort to get the road this side of Adam's house, and if I do you can capture the whole of them. Any force moving down the road I am holding, or on the White Oak road, will be in the enemy's rear, and in all probability get any force that may escape you by a flank attack. Do not fear my leaving here. If the enemy remains I shall fight at daylight.

P. H. SHERIDAN, *Major-General.*

It now bid fair that the dawn of day in the execution of these orders would bring an attack on the enemy perfectly overwhelming.

The battle of Dinwiddie concluded the last military advantage ever enjoyed by the *soi-disant* "Confederacy." The closing scenes of its short-lived existence never presented another.

Sheridan moved at daylight the next morning (April 1.) His men and horses had enjoyed refreshment, a few hours' rest, and supplies of ammunition had been received. Those troublesome wagons were at last accessible, and the wounded during the night had been taken some miles distant to the hospitals in the rear of the main army.

Did you ever see a train of ambulances bearing from the battle field its bleeding freight? You may have known the hardships of a lonely sick-room in the garret of an unsympathizing boarding-house; or up endless flight of stairs you may have charitably sought the suffering traveller in the strange solitude of the crowded hotel. You may have bathed the wound or soothed the fever of your hero soldier as he lingers from day to day, or month to month in the dreary hospital. You may have worked with busy fingers on the thousand little useful nothings which tender woman knows will cheer the sick man's spirit. You may have toiled day and night in supplying

sanitary commissions with the pouch of the good Samaritan. You may have knelt by the bedside of the dying warrior, joining in his silent prayers as you appeal to heaven for divine mercy and forgiveness. Your sympathies, labours and petitions, go not unheeded by. But turn your hearts to the maimed soldier as while the sounds of battle linger in his ears he is crowded into a jolting ambulance and carted over the roughest roads, perhaps at night, fatigued from the loss of blood, exhausted from want of food and sleep, racking with the pain of hastily dressed wounds, not yet at the hospital, the grateful recipient of those touching evidences of relief and comfort provided by a generous people. Let him command every good impulse of your nature as he takes this cheerless, painful ride.

It is an episode of every battle. What wounded man does not shudder as he remembers it? There are no kind friends to soothe him there. His anguish is his own. Who can tell how fast the thoughts of home-comforts and loved ones rush over him. It may be that ere the end of the fearful journey his spirit has flown. The ambulance may have become the hearse. Oh! this is war; these are the afflictions that have just passed from us. God grant the bitter cup may not be drunk too often.

As the cavalry this morning moved again for the third time toward Five Forks, Devins led the right wing, skirmishing as he advanced over a part of the field of his conflict of the day previous, while Custer directed the left wing; the whole under Merritt. Crook, with Gregg's brigade, followed that portion of the enemy who retreated toward the west across Chamberlain's run.

The rebels in front of Sheridan had during the night become alarmed at their exposure to the operations of the Fifth Corps on their flank and rear, and early dawn found them offering but a slight skirmishing resistance before the advance of the cavalry, and falling back slowly and steadily to their old position at Five Forks. Those who crossed the run toward the west consisting principally of cavalry, halted when across the creek, and making a show of resistance they kept up a lively skirmish fire and continued work on their defences to prevent our further pursuit. Crook's division was, therefore, left behind by Sheridan to look after this force, protect his left and rear, watch the trains, and with general directions to take advantage of any opportunities that might occur.

A peculiarity of this campaign was this discretion to division commanders given by General Grant in his preparatory orders before the

troops left camp, and in which generals were especially instructed to press at once any advantage, however slight, that might be gained during the campaign. Should the enemy at any time give way, commanders were to seize the moment to strike a decisive blow. The previous history of the Army of Potomac would seem to indicate that this cardinal military principle heretofore had not received the attention it deserved in the general instructions of its officers, and the excellent results of this authoritative exposition of the Lieutenant-General may be traced in the daily history of his last campaign.

The Fifth Corps did not arrive on the main Five Forks road, as anticipated, in time to prevent the enemy from using it as his line of retreat toward the Southside railroad. Had they done so by daylight, there is little doubt that there would have been no battle at Five Forks that day, but that there would have been fought midway between that point and Dinwiddie Court-house a short and decisive contest which would have brought more glorious results much earlier in the day. Why the Fifth Corps did not answer Sheridan's expectations in this respect has never yet been explained, and probably was one of the motives for inducing that officer later in the day to relieve from command its young and gallant general. As subsequent operations turned out this delinquency was quite immaterial, but it is nevertheless animadverted upon in these words in the official report of Sheridan. "Had General Warren moved according to the expectations of the Lieutenant-General there would appear to have been but little chance for the escape of the enemy's infantry in front of Dinwiddie Court-house." Since his removal General Warren has published a card concerning it, but he is silent as to the operations now in question.

The Fifth Corps then was concentrated in the vicinity of J. Boissean's house, and there awaited further developments. About this time General M'Kenzie in command of what was called the cavalry division of the Army of the James, reported to General Sheridan with about 1000 effective men organized as a brigade. The immediate command of Devin's and Custer's divisions rested with General Merritt, under whose directions they now closely pressed the enemy. Twice their rear guard attempted to make a stand behind some temporary defences, but after a short struggle were each time compelled to retire, until finally they reached the old position at Five Forks.

That portion of the enemy who had crossed Chamberlain's bed, also retired north to the same locality, closely followed, however, by

General Gregg's brigade of Crook's division. This brigade was afterwards of considerable service reconnoitering and watching our flanks, but did not become seriously engaged during the day.

It was now evident that the rebels had concentrated quite a formidable force, and to dislodge them was no mean undertaking. Yet to our advantage they were beyond the reach of support from the remainder of General Lee's army, which (even were it not so) was now too much engaged with the long lines in its own immediate front to render any available assistance.

Their exact number it would be very difficult to state; probably 12,000 effective men would be a liberal estimate. The force comprised Picket's division, two brigades of Bushrod Johnson's, besides cavalry under W. H. F. and Fitzhugh Lee.

Against this Sheridan had the Fifth Corps with about 15,000 and the cavalry (without Crook's division) of nearly 5000 effective men.

If Five Forks were any place there might follow here a description of it. You would not unreasonably suspect a country cross-road of an unpretending blacksmith's shop, a convenient "store," a gloomy church, or at least a deserted shanty. But this charming illustration of Virginia enterprise boasts of nothing. It is emphatically a "Five Forks" and nothing else. The roads forking here lead—one to Dinwiddie Court-house towards the South; another to Petersburg on the East, called the White Oak road; another to Ford's station, on the Southside railroad; a fourth to a point on the railroad a little west of the station; and a fifth through the country in a southwesterly direction. The principal of these roads are the White Oak and Ford's station roads, and it was along the one and across the other that the rebels had erected their breastworks. These, though still incomplete were rather hurriedly constructed of pine logs partially covered with earth. The rebel line of battle extended from one to two miles along the White Oak road, with the flanks thrown a little to the rear in an endeavour to cover the Ford's station road, the latter in case of defeat being their only safe line of retreat.

Merritt had shown his cavalry at all points of this line, but with this alone it was quite impossible for him to make any serious impression. The country here is very thickly wooded, a large portion of the actual battle-field being covered with a thick growth of pine. Towards the east of the lines the forest became more open, with here and there a partially cultivated field; while to the West was a house and rather a pretty farm, known as the Widow Gilliam's, situated

near the road, and affording quite an open and available piece of country.

Sheridan's plan was soon determined.

It is related of him that in speaking of this battle he has since remarked that before it begun he had made up his mind to win it or die in the attempt. He had not asked for a corps to be sent him; he might have suggested a division of infantry. General Grant, however, said, "I will send him a corps," and with the forces now at his disposition, he proceeded, in the words of the Lieutenant-General * in giving him his instructions, to "destroy the force which your command had fought so gallantly to-day."

Custer's division was to make serious demonstrations to the West, on the right of the rebels, as if to turn their flank, while dismounted cavalry and a portion of the Fifth Corps occupied their attention in front. The main body of this Corps, however, was meanwhile ordered up from its position near the Boissean house and formed on our right under cover of the forest (near Gravelly Run Church) facing the White Oak road, with Ayres's division on the left in double lines, and Crawford's on the right. Griffin's division was held in reserve. By the time these dispositions were completed, which was not without severe skirmishing, the afternoon was well advanced. There was not much time to lose; the fight, if here at all, must be to-day. Night would doubtless change the relations of the contestants and in all probability deprive our forces of the present opportunities for success. Should the enemy attack us, too, our advantage would be lost. We had no position for a defence. Sheridan was therefore naturally uneasy at the slightest delay. About this time, to prevent any attempt of the enemy to send reinforcements along the White Oak road, General McKenzie was directed to gain this road at once if possible; march down it and engage anything he might meet. The Fifth Corps was now advanced as formed directly from Gravelly Run Church to White Oak, which it reached after tedious manœuvering in the heavy forest, and now found itself just beyond the extreme left flank of the enemy's works. The plan of the battle directed that while the cavalry were engaging the attention of the rebels in front and on their right flank where the opening of the Gilliam farm afforded such excellent opportunities for demonstrations, the infantry should envelop their extreme left flank and sweep down the rebel lines with a simultaneous charge of all the cavalry to be made when

* March 31, P.M., General Grant to Sheridan.

the roar of musketry should indicate a heavy engagement of our infantry. The enemy were to be at once captured or destroyed. But the afternoon was well nigh spent and the enemy yet comparatively undisturbed. Sheridan rode over to hasten the movements of the Fifth Corps, and directed it upon the rebel breastworks, the movement conforming to what may be termed a "left half-wheel" with Ayres's division as the pivot. But this faithful soldier had met the enemy directly in his front and was becoming desperately engaged. The sharp cracks of the carbines mingled with the rattle of musketry, while pressing squadrons with drawn sabre sought an opportunity to ride over the foe. But the battle raged fiercest on the right. The roar of musketry as it increased in volume in this direction led some to suppose that Lee's reinforcements must have arrived from Petersburg. But now it was the Union muskets that added vigor to the battle. The enemy withdrew troops from other parts of the field to meet Ayres's attack. The troops of this corps had been unsuccessful in the previous contests of this campaign, and evidenced a lack of confidence. Some were rallied by Sheridan in person, and Ayres continued gallantly to hold his own, while Crawford, not yet meeting any enemy, pressed on, crossed the road, and moving down through comparatively open woods soon found himself in the rebel rear, struck their ambulances, captured some artillery, and threatened annihilation. The enemy still held out with vigor in front. It was here, as he led his earnest Zouave brigade against the works which Ayres must carry, fell the noble and chivalric Winthrop in the bloom of his career, and while victory only awaited its bloody price to rest majestically on his banners.

It was just previous to the event narrated at the close of my last article that, affairs looking favourable in front of our cavalry, an officer of General Merritt's staff rode up to General Sheridan with "General Merritt's compliments, sir; and he thinks now would be a good time to put the cavalry 'in.'" To this he received the characteristic, laconic reply, "Go in"; and the cavalry did "go in." There seemed to be no chance to charge, but charge they must. Custer, who, it will be remembered, held our extreme left, was ordered to dismount his division and send them forward. He dismounted enough to comply with his orders, pressed them to the front, and sent two mounted brigades still further to the left to strike the enemy's rear. Every move on our part was successful. The rebel artillery for a short time played havoc among our brave assailants;

but they were the guns of despair. The musketry on the right was for a while terrific, while the constant dashes of our mounted and dismounted cavalry, added to the sound of skirmishing directly in the rebel rear, were increasing sources of demoralization and defeat. No troops could stand it long. Their lines were shaken; the red sunset glimmered through the forest as if to rebuke the fratricidal strife; and the vigorous cheers of Union battalions pursued a flying and defeated foe. Ayres, Crawford, and Griffin did not halt, but pressed close on the fugitives, and gathered hosts of prisoners; while Custer, who was never known to lose an opportunity, now charged his mounted squadrons. There was no escape; turn where they would, the flying rebels were confronted. All their dead, most of their wounded, and ambulances, guns, caissons, with over 4000 prisoners, fell into our hands.

While the thick woods assisted their retreat and prevented greater captures, darkness only gave an end to the chase. It is a curious fact that so many small arms were the next day collected on this field that, for want of transportation, to prevent the possibility of their falling again into hands of the enemy, the rebel muskets were actually used to corduroy several parts of the very bad roads in this vicinity.

The flower of Lee's army was fairly beaten. Pickett's division, as an organization, has never since been heard of, and to the end of the campaign its stragglers from this field were daily encountered. Some even sought their homes at once to lay down their arms for peace, and many a Confederate soldier did not hesitate to express his belief that further resistance to the Union armies would only be as sanguinary as it would be unavailing.

When you have rejoiced with me over this brilliant victory at Five Forks, when you have paid your homage to its living heroes, bedecked with flowers the graves of its dead, honored their names and embalmed their memory, perhaps you may pause a moment to regret that it was here the curtain fell over the bright military reputation of a young and promising general.

Speaking of the dispositions ordered for the attack, Sheridan says: "I rode over to where the Fifth Corps were going into position, and found them coming up very slowly. I was exceedingly anxious to attack at once, for the sun was getting low, and we had to fight or go back. It was no place to intrench, and it would have been shameful to have gone back with no means to compensate for the loss of the brave men who had fallen during the day. In this con-

nection I will say that General Warren did not exert himself to get his corps up as rapidly as he might have done, and his manner gave me the impression that he wished the sun to go down before the dispositions for the attack could be completed." Of the actual battle he again says: "During this attack I again became dissatisfied with General Warren. During the engagement portions of his line gave way when not exposed to a heavy fire, and simply for want of confidence on the part of the troops, which General Warren did not exert himself to inspire. I therefore relieved him from the command of the Fifth Corps, authority for this action having been sent to me before the battle, unsolicited." It was during the closing scenes of the engagement, late in the afternoon, and while his battalions were in eager pursuit of the retreating enemy, that General Warren received this order relieving him from command of the Fifth Army Corps. It may have been sent some time before these circumstances occurred. General Griffin immediately succeeded him, and remained at its head during the campaign.

This battle of Five Forks is justly regarded as the turning point in the campaign. Had the enemy won it, Petersburg and Richmond might have held out many days and probably weeks longer. When they lost it the Southside railroad was no longer useful to them, nor had they any line of retreat south of Appomattox for their forces at Petersburg.

The news of Sheridan's success, as it reached the different portions of our lines during the evening, electrified the troops and in honor thereof shotted salutes were improvised and added distraction to the foe. There was little sleep for officers or men of either army that night. Orderlies galloped from general to general, colonels and captains inspected their commands, while the pattering and constant skirmishing fire betokened activity and vigilance. Later this became more monotonous, and there might be a chance for a little repose. It was a calm, clear, starlight night; but soon the very ground seemed to tremble as though by an earthquake. Old campaigners tell of the cannonading at Fredericksburg and Gettysburg; but neither equalled in fury, reverberation or grandeur this midnight bombardment at Petersburg. Each army seemed determined that its adversary should have no rest. A mutual agreement of terrifying annoyance and wild destruction might have prevailed. Along those immense lines, from the Appomattox river on the right to where Sheridan was quietly resting on the battle field of Five Forks, hund-

reds of guns, of every conceivable calibre, counterfeited the dread clamors of the immortal Jove. The plump of the solid shot as it buried itself in the earth, the shrieking, whistling parrott as you traced its lightning course by its burning fuse, the venerable mortar as it slowly curved through the darkness in its fiery parabola and bursting high in the air dropped its missiles of death into massing battalions, the spiteful little minie as it "whist" above the parapet—this was the pandemoniac introduction to the bloody onset for which our armies were preparing. Daylight did not dawn the next pleasant Sunday morning on a sleeping soldier. Despite the great bombardment everything was ready, and along more than twenty continuous miles of works there was one grand assault which no historian ever contemplated and no pen can describe. The Ninth Corps, the Sixth Corps, the Army of the James, and the Second Corps, extending in this order from right to left, each vied with the other in this glorious, successful, and immortal charge. The names of the heroes, living and dead—for the joy of victory in many a home was buried in the grief of bereavement—should be inscribed on an enduring shaft as a nation's monument to its heroic defenders. Let him who deems himself worthy essay to depict these scenes.

It was about eleven o'clock on the morning of April 7, as he attempted the worship of his God, that, sitting quietly in church at Richmond, Jefferson Davis received from his co-adjutor Robert Lee the following brief despatch: "My lines have been pierced; I shall evacuate Petersburg and Richmond." This simply tells the story.

Meanwhile, Sheridan was not idle; but his movements during this day, though materially aiding the general plan by reaping every advantage possible of his victory at Five Forks, were not specially notable. Miles's division of the Second Corps reached him by daylight, Grant being determined that there should now be nothing lost where so much had been gained.

The cavalry moved towards Ford's station at daylight and found the rebel cavalry collected near the crossing of Hatcher's Run. But they fell back beforo him, and Sheridan, with his cavalry and Fifth Corps, soon halted at Ford's station, on the Southside road. The importance of this road to the rebels had been frequently so over-estimated by newspaper generals in their editorial head-quarters, that now that we held it, some of our officers facetiously remarked, "The war is over and we can go home." Miles' division was to strike the railroad nearer Petersburg, by a road known as the "Clairbourne road."

At the crossing of Hatcher's Run, however, he came up with the enemy's infantry, who, deeming it prudent not to offer battle there and retiring before him, posted themselves on an open farm at Sutherland's station. There was some misunderstanding about this time as to whether General Miles was under the command of Sheridan or Humphreys. Certain it is that the former relinguished it without a conflict of authority, while at the close of the day, when General Humphreys was congratulated by an officer on the brilliant success of this division of his corps, he generously replied, "It is General Miles's victory. I had nothing to do with it. The credit is due to him."

It was indeed a creditable affair, this handsome little battle at Sutherland station. Close by the railroad here there ran a fine wide turnpike, known as the "Cox road," in former times the favorite drive from Petersburg, and leading through a well cultivated farming country. In quiet contrast to the dreary forests south of Hatcher's Run and not yet laid waste by the tramp of armies, the green fields and blooming fruit trees wore a rustic beauty quite refreshing. The rebels had chosen this for a battlefield and had thrown up hastily a breastwork of earth and rails parallel with the road, while to the West some small redoubts a little more elaborate, to the left protected their flank. Their force comprised portions of two divisions, in all four brigades of infantry, commanded by Scales, McGowan, McRae, and Wilcox. They had in position seven pieces of artillery, but while the battle was pending other guns were removed to the rear. Miles had attacked them twice during the afternoon without success. They held their own and inflicted on him considerable loss. His force consisted only of three brigades and Clarke's battery, about 5000 men, while the rebels mustered full as many, had a good position and acted entirely on the defensive. Late in the afternoon, while General Humphreys was hurrying to the support of General Miles, the latter massed his troops on the enemy's left flank, and made a third and successful assault. Two of his brigades commanders (Generals Medill and MacDougall) were wounded, but the enemy were by sunset driven from the field, losing two guns, a battle flag, and several hundred prisoners.

The fatigue of the troops and want of cavalry prevented further pursuit; and when all was quiet here, the fading sound of artillery in the direction of Ford's station announced that in Sheridan's front he too was "master of the situation." Crook's cavalry having now

nothing further to accomplish by remaining at Dinwiddie, also moved forward with all the trains, and as the roads were by this time quite dry, encamped for the night near General Miles, who remained at Sutherland station.

This closed the fifth of the great eleven days campaign ; and had it not been for the troublesome storms so seriously delaying our troops, there can be but little doubt that the results witnessed the next morning in the entire evacuation of Petersburg and the abandonment of the rebel capital would have been accomplished at least one day earlier.

It had been a warm spring day, and as the troops in front of the rebel breast-works eagerly followed up their grand successful charge of the morning, the roads were strewn with overcoats, blankets, and knapsacks, belonging as well to the pursuers as the pursued. Falling back to their last line of works immediately about Petersburg, the rebels now found themselves completely enveloped by our forces from the Appomattox river on the right around Petersburg to the river again on the left. No road of retreat was now open to them south of the Appomattox, while the strong force which Lee had detached to protect the Southside railroad, and to threaten Grant's flank, was now scattered in the woods—an army of demoralized fugitives.

Monday morning, April 3rd, while Sheridan was endeavouring to capture the remnants of these forces, news was received of the evacuation of Petersburg and probably Richmond. Scouts came in from every direction with reports of a small force in this or that locality which might be easily captured. Custer and Devins were dashing their squadrons over every farm, taking many prisoners, and adding to the distraction of the enemy. Near Deep creek a fine battery of artillery was captured, while skirmishes and charges, lines of battle, and hurried marches were the order of the day. "Sheridan's Scouts" were now pre-eminently active and useful. These anomalous characters—organised as a small battalion under the command of Major Young, and composed of soldiers from different regiments, selected for their fitness for this peculiar duty—were a body of men without the slightest air of military appearance, but whose eminent services in this and other campaigns, though not conspicuous, were most constant and valuable. They are known everywhere as "Sheridan's Scouts." Spreading themselves over the country in groups of two, three, or half-a-dozen, they cover the flanks and precede the advance of every column. They learn every

road, bridge, house, church, camp, and *stable*. Not a quadruped within miles of Sheridan's cavalry escapes their inspection, or, if useful, their immediate appropriation. Their constant riding makes it necessary that they should make these horse trades frequently, else their usefulness in the transmission of intelligence is seriously impaired. Habitually they assume the uniform—if such it can be called—of rebel soldiers, though among them you will just as frequently see men in the garb of a Virginia "planter"; an "F.F.V." aboriginal, in rusty homespun and broad hat, riding at a careless amble along the road, swinging in one hand a poor specimen of a switch, and jerking with the other a much poorer article of horse-flesh. His bridle was not unlikely part of a plough harness, while his saddle might have belonged to a runaway negro. Every soldier remembers these picturesque knights of the Southern chivalry, as they peered into the Union camps. Early in the war they made bold to demand of our officers their contrabands as "property"; later, these "honorable" gentlemen found themselves much more useful to their "cause" as members of a volunteer corps for conveying information to the camp of the enemy; while still later in the war they sought from the hated Yankee his esteemed commissary stores, or a "gyard" to protect a dilapidated homestead. Certainly of the same blood must have been that younger class of similar visitors, who prowled about the country in unfrequented localities, seeking deeds of wickedness and desperation. It must have been one of these self same farmer guerillas, bushwhackers, or whatever they may be called, who hunting over the country, one day, it is said, accidentally ran across one of our inimitables, apparently engaged in a similar sport, and to whom, in answer as to the kind of game he sought, he innocently replied that he was out after quails; although, he confidentially added, he didn't mind bringing down a Yankee if he had a good chance. The disposition of our fellow countryman, as thus illustrated, seems to have been thoroughly appreciated by these ubiquitous scouts of Sheridan, who therefore *owned* everything they saw, and want of transportation was their limit to actual possession. They visited everybody, were at home in every house, and enjoyed at any hour of day or night that unreserved hospitality which they knew so well how to inspire. They conversed with every ignorant white man, and every "intellectual contraband." They were most accurately informed of the hidden whereabouts of plate, jewellery, horses, and other concealed valuables, and knew

where every road went to, and how to reach pleasant places not put down on the maps, by no road at all. Indeed these scouts were a most complete gazetteer of the country through which the cavalry marched. None could speak with more knowledge of its resources. While they led during the campaign this roving, demoralizing life, and gained much information, doubtless very interesting to themselves, they occasionally learned matters of value to their superiors. Their personal attachment to Sheridan was strong and reliable. On the march, or in action, scarcely an hour passed that they did not bring him a direct report from distant and important quarters. They visited the enemy's outposts, rode about his wagon trains, spied out his camps, and encircled the cavalry corps with a network of eyes and ears. Seldom is a general in active campaign better acquainted with the moves of his enemy than was Sheridan in this. Aside from the information which each of his Generals was able to send from his own immediate vicinity, these scouts were his only "secret service." They occasionally, too, accomplished deeds of valor. It was in the afternoon of the 3rd, shortly after Custer's skirmish at Namozine Church, that two or three of these men, riding carelessly along the road, encountered the rebel General Barringer and staff. By their shrewdness and audacity, the whole party was so deceived as innocently to ride with them to the rear of our lines, where the out-manœuvred General and party were obliged to surrender as prisoners of war. So energetic and confusing to the enemy had been Sheridan's pursuit. Similar instances frequently occurred.

The onward march of our army had been seriously impeded during the 3rd of April by the high state of the creeks. The cavalry divisions under Custer and Devins skirmished constantly with the enemy; and Sheridan himself remained with the advance, gathering and sifting the information of the enemy's movements, which he was thus able to receive promptly from his scouts, and variety of other resources which a skilful officer can always command. At Namozine Church (as already referred to) Custer experienced a lively, but successful affair; and as the infantry followed closely in his wake, they met here renewed evidences of the ravages of war. Deserted fields, barren with the tramp of cavalry, fences as if hurriedly opened here and there for the columns of war, empty corn cribs, and the crackling flames of blazing barns, burning like tinder, their dry lumber now falling to the ground, now slowly yielding as with submissive grace to their curling fires, pictured a desolation but typical of the vengeance which would fain follow evil spirits in rebellion.

It must have been very strange if their pursuit could have been so vigorously continued always with entire success in every skirmish. Nevertheless, the rule was to fight; and Custer's division had a lively day of it, not without loss in both men and officers. Wells's brigade of Custer's division had enjoyed the advance; but, after the affair at Namozine Church, Capehart's and Pennington's brigades were sent off to the right towards Dennisville. After running fights of several miles by both columns, Capehart encountered towards dark a strong force of the enemy not far from Bevil's Ford, where they had been unable to cross. The rebel cavalry had now been pressed back to a body of their infantry guarding trains, who received a charge of Capehart's brigade with a destructive volley. They quickly deployed, and advanced to follow up this temporary success, forcing the Union cavalry back half a mile or more. Wells, however, had now come up by the other road, and McKenzie's division (the Army of the James cavalry) was also now in line, and the enemy seemed perfectly content to press no farther. Lord's horse battery of Second Regulars—which has gained no little reputation by its eminent services in this campaign—added its persuasive arguments in checking the enemy. Becoming, dark, however, the advance now encamped; yet it was long after it was midnight ere the last soldier of Sheridan's column had stretched himself for a short rest. During the day General Sheridan had had command of the Fifth (and Second?) Corps, who followed the cavalry as closely as possible, all moving on the main road running due west toward Burkesville. The enemy were moving in a parallel direction; their main body, however, north of the Appomattox river, endeavouring to cross it at Bevil's bridge. When Sheridan encamped for the night, therefore, with his troops stretched along the road from Namozine to Deep Creek, Lee's main body was a few hours ahead, marching toward Amelia Court-house. This was on the route to Danville or Lynchburg, and, with these roads still open, should Lee continue to keep ahead of us, his retreat to either of these places would in all possibility be successful.

Grant's main body was now well on the march, and under his own personal direction. General Parke's (Ninth) Corps for the present was left to garrison Petersburg and vicinity, and to protect the trains. This Corps afterwards guarded the Southside railroad and other wise watched the rear of the army. General Weitzel, with his troops was taking care of Richmond; while General Meade, in immediate command of the Sixth Corps and Second Corps of the Army of the

Potomac, General Ord, with Foster's and Turner's divisions of the Army of the James, and General Sheridan, with the Fifth Corps and cavalry, enjoying the post of honour in the advance—in all, probably twenty-three thousand effective men—constituted the moving columns of the pursuing forces.

Lee's retreat at once must be vigorously interrupted, else the pursuit was now likely to become "a stern chase," prolonging for many weeks perhaps the operations against him, or longer upholding the organization of the Confederacy. No time was therefore to be lost. General Crook's division was in its turn now given the advance, and long before daylight on the morning of the Fourth was marching to strike the Danville railroad. Sheridan pushed his infantry through Dennisville and towards Jetersville station, while he occupied Devins's, Custer's, and McKenzie's cavalry by harrassing the enemy wherever they could find him. Devins found Crook well on his way. His route at first lay through a very swampy country, but having no train, nothing was allowed to delay him. If the roads were not passable the men must pick their way in the woods and in the soft soil of this section of country, the wonder is that columns of troops have moved with any considerable rapidity. If the general character of the roads used by our armies in this war were always considered by writers or speakers on this subject, our American campaigns would compare still more favorably than ever with the historical standards of military skill in European warfare. Farther on, however, towards the Danville railroad, the country opened into a series of well-cultivated farms, or "plantations," as they are rather snobbishly termed, beautiful in many instances with comfortable, hospitable looking homesteads. Most of these were now occupied, and no evidence appeared that troops of either army had ever visited there before. The inhabitants strolled to the road side, some from idle curiosity to see the "Yankee Cavalry," others to have a look at General Sheridan, of whom they seemed to know chiefly in connection with great destruction of property in other parts of Virginia; hence most of these defenceless people appeared to ask protection. It was more amusing to our troops than these applicants when they learned that before they had finished their petition to a passing General, their barn doors had been opened and favorite steeds led forth from private life to the stern reality of "grim-visaged war." Oft and again was seen the plough standing in the furrow, while the weeping but unattractive woman who held it piteously bewailed her

grievances. "Wouldn't the General leave her some broken-down horse, that she might plough her fields and save her family from threatened starvation?" Never was conscription more remorselessly enforced than that against the equine quadrupeds in the country subjected to the marches of Sheridan's cavalry. But if horses in the enemy's country are not "contraband of war," then what is? Shortly after noon, Crook's advance struck the Richmond and Danville railroad at Ordinary, a small station two or three miles North of Burkesville, having neither seen nor heard of any enemy except a few straggling soldiers seeking their own homes. Officers and soldiers had expected that they would meet here at least a guard, or perhaps strike a retreating column. Ties and rails were at once torn up and hopes entertained of stopping some passing train. But a few hours before several trains had hurried by, laden with baggage, convalescent soldiers, and such other miscellaneous material as you might expect to find on the last cars available for the flight of "The Confederacy."

The day previous Jeff Davis and party had passed, but the miserable people in the neighbourhood seemed to have no intelligence of and very little interest in his movements. The scouting parties brought in all the intelligent male people, white or black, that they could find. The latter came most cheerfully; but the proud Virginians pled illness and every conceivable excuse to remain at home and to avoid meeting face to face those whose magnanimity would pardon his crimes, and whose victorious Armies would rescue his fallen States. One only was bold enough to come voluntarily among our troops. He was a tall, lean tobacco spitter, perhaps forty years of age, with eyes of rather more than ordinary intelligence, clean face, wiry features, flowing tawny hair that denoted a scarcity of barbers in that locality, attired in ill-fitting clothes, the material and cut of which was certainly domestic, and topped off with an imperfect sombrero, of the unique but inelegant colour of iron rust. This fellow, with considerable of that shrewdness considered a Yankee monopoly, endeavoured to impress upon the group of officers he had chosen as his audience, his personal importance in this section. He had, early in the war, so ran his story, served a short time in the "Southern" Army, but for a long time past had been performing various official duties for the State and country where he now resided. He had not given Mr Davis his unqualified support, but of course could not engage in any special hostility to his power. He had heard of the evacuation of Richmond, and believed the "President" had gone to

Danville; but he considered that the South could not now hold out much longer. He had very much regretted Secession, but was obliged to go with his State. He thought it was now pretty well demonstrated that the "South" could fight (which nobody ever seriously doubted), but he added as if by way of personal apology, that his poor health had relieved him from service in the field. He had endeavoured to remain as quiet as possible during the war, probably because his health appeared now quite perfect, and the conscripting officers might visit him. He continued further to express more extended views on public matters in general not forgetting to ask the usual question as to what the North would do with the niggers if they were all free, as though a special appropriation of the "peculiar institution" had been decided upon; observing all the while a manner supposed to indicate his own local influence, and a desire to fraternize with the invaders of his "sacred soil," concluding by hoping that as he was not a rich man, the General would see that he was not molested or disturbed in the enjoyment of his personal or proprietary rights. This, of course, was the sole object of his visit, and crestfallen was his look of disappointment then on hearing the order that he was to be taken into custody for the present, according to the custom in such cases during active campaign. This was a fair example of those visits daily received by our officers from the Virginians generally known as the "middle class." Crook's division now moved north along the railroad towards Jetersville station, and with the head of the other column on the more direct route which Sheridan was directing in person, reached there late in the afternoon.

The scouts from the west and north now brought in reports of the enemy from these directions, while our small party were dashing out on every road in eager pursuit of information or in hopes of making captures. Lee's advance had passed through Amelia Court-house, and there was constant skirmishing. His line of retreat to Danville was now occupied by a considerable force of cavalry, and the roads towards Lynchburg threatened. To have preserved both of these roads Lee should have made every sacrifice. Here was his fatal mistake. Had he sent a considerable force of infantry at once and attacked the little force of cavalry with which Sheridan was making such extensive demonstrations, Lee would probably have been successful in making his retreat tolerably secure. Although his Army was not probably well concentrated at Amelia Court-house,

yet this was the policy our officers naturally expected from him, and Sheridan himself in his official report says: "It seems to me that this was the only chance the Army of North Virginia had to save itself, which might have been done had Lee promptly attacked and driven back the comparatively small force opposed to him, and pursued his march to Burkesville junction. Jetersville is only* eight miles North of Burkesville, on the Richmond and Dunville railroad, and is the first station South of Amelia Court-house. The country about here is open, and probably as well cultivated as any part of Southern Virginia. Jetersville itself is a small village on the railroad, of scarcely a dozen dwellings, a store or two, blacksmith shops, post office, and small railroad depot, where they found a few cars, and though otherwise barren of any signs of thrift and enterprise, the little place wore an air of comfort and respectability. The telegraph wires had been cut further south, and a despatch from Lee's commissary, intended for Danville or Lynchburg, was received here. The operator, however, fleeing suddenly at our approach, left his papers behind, by which Sheridan learned that rations had been ordered to meet Lee's army at Burkesville. Everything, therefore, pointed to a battle in this vicinity; and the troops did not rest that night before the dispositions were completed, and the lines fortified to meet with all possible strength the violent attack which there was now every reason to suppose would be made by the enemy at daylight. At night Sheridan sent all the important information he had gained to General Meade, who, with the second and sixth corps infantry, was yet a considerable distance in his rear, adding in his urgent manner that if these troops could be got up in time, he had hopes of capturing or dispersing the whole of Lee's army. The events of the next day strengthened this belief. Grant remained during the day, with the command of General Ord, which marched along the south side railroad, and on the night of the 4th instant encamped near Nottoway Court house. With the morning of the 5th of April opened a grand series of cavalry dashes into the lines of the retreating army, which have made the exploits of these few days so notorious and brilliant.

Before daylight on the morning of the 5th General Davies, with

* I have visited Jetersville since the war. Fences are in many places replaced; old breastworks torn down for the sake of the logs they contained; and a portion of the battlefield yielded this year a very fine crop of corn. No traces of fight observable.

his brigade of not more than twelve hundred men, marched from the bivouac at Jetersville, with orders to make a reconnaisance towards the north and west. He had not gone over three or four miles before he learned of heavy movements of troops and wagon trains on the main road leading from Amelia Court-house toward Lynchburg. Pursuing the general principle (Napoleon's maxim), never to hesitate to strike a retreating enemy, and in obedience to the true spirit of cavalry, the opportunity here presented was at once accepted. General Davies determined to attempt the capture or destruction of the train and its escort, or as much of it as possible, and then retire by the most feasible route before any considerable force of the enemy could reach him from Amelia Court-house. His small command comprised the Twenty-fourth and Tenth New York, the First Pennsylvania, and First New Jersey, and were as fine a body of cavalry for their size as can be found in the service. The last two regiments served alongside of each other during the whole war, and there had grown up between them a strong attachment and mutual confidence. They were "twins," always cherishing in highest regard the memory of their first brigade commander, and formerly colonel of the First Pennsylvania, the gallant Bayard, who fell at Fredericksburg, the youngest major-general and the most promising cavalry officer in the Army of the Potomac. Side by side again and again had these two famous little regiments fought together in the common cause, and now again they led off in this brilliant *dejeuner*. Coming upon their enemy unawares, his confusion was their enjoyment. The prospect of capture, plunder, or destruction of a large train of army wagons induces inspirations, appreciated only by veterans, while, united to the rivalry of generous ambition and a strong *esprit de corps*, it renders a body of men impetuous, resolute, and invincible. So it was this morning. As soon as Davies struck the rebel line of march, part of his command was sent toward the Court-house, while another portion galloped toward Paine's cross roads. The scenes now were no less amusing than demoralizing. The train, which must have extended for several miles along the road, was escorted by a respectable body of cavalry in its advance, with a strong force of infantry in its rear, in addition to smaller detachments from both arms, as stragglers scattered here and there among the wagons. Men and animals were much in need of rest and refreshment. Since leaving Petersburg they had been almost constantly moving, and the dawn of this morning found them

a good distance ahead of Lee's main body, with a reasonable prospect of a long march and a quiet day. Without notice, however, our men were now among them, dashing up and down the road, now shooting the drivers, now charging the guards; now unceremoniously overhauling the contents of a heavily laden wagon, or attempting to drive off mules, drivers, wagons, and all. Scared contrabands grinned, and impudent teamsters looked gloomy, as the miscellaneous paraphernalia of an army baggage train was hurriedly turned inside out by the irreverent "Yankees." There were personal encounters too. Soldiers and small parties were now scattered for two or three miles up and down the road. Nearly every one had his own separate contest. A new and elegant battery of five Armstrong guns was found in the train and at once turned toward our lines. This battery had apparently never been used, and was complete in all its appointments, even to a fine new russet leather harness, and had arrived in Richmond not long before the evacuation. It had been imported by blockade running from our "neutral" English cousins at a great expense, said to have been borne entirely by an enthusiastic Captain Picketts. But the advance and rear guards of the train were approaching. There was no time to lose, and much was to be done. It was evidently impossible to get away with any considerable part of the wagons, and destruction was therefore the order of the day. The traces were cut, mules and drivers impressed, and the wheels were chopped into kindling wood. The skirmishing grew more lively; the prisoners and captures were moved as rapidly as worn-out mules and reluctant Secesh would permit; and the fires quickly lighted. It was amazing to see in what incredibly short space of time complete inventories were taken of the various contents of a single wagon. It was likewise amazing to note the judicious selection therefrom by our soldiers of portable articles of use and value; and this was a curious index of personal taste. With some, money, jewellery, and wearing apparel, when desirable, seemed to be the favourite choice; while one eager party was obliged to desist and disperse in their interesting endeavours to force a salamander safe. Some head-quarter wagons offered elegant uniforms and loads of rebel official literature; but there was no time for further entertainment of this character. Our men were getting short of ammunition, and had their retreat impeded with their captures, which now footed up to two or three hundred mules and horses, prisoners, a battery, several stands of colours—many of the latter taken out of wagons—

besides quite a number of prominent rebel officers. The scene along the road, as we left it filled with burning wagons, was one elongated panorama of fiery destruction. The raid was now a complete success, much valuable information had been gained, a large train destroyed, and a main road of great use to the enemy seriously encumbered with the debris. General Lee's head-quarters which, it was afterwards learned, were not more than half-a-mile from the scene, were roused by the firing, and hurriedly removed to escape capture. His whole army was on the *qui vive*, and prudence demanded that our little handful of men should retire. Meanwhile at Jetersville, nothing had been heard from General Davies, and at seven or eight o'clock in the morning Crook started to his support with the remainder of his division. At Amelia Springs is a large hotel-looking establishment (now a female seminary), cozily situated among a series of pleasant hills and dales, contiguous to Sulphur Springs, and seemingly an inviting watering-place, now, however, quite barren and deserted. There General Crook first heard from Davies. A motley crew of rebel officers, soldiers, contrabands, and teamsters mounted on mules, and horses, some with saddles, some without, some with the team harness, others with extemporized rope bridles, and still others on foot or without any equipments at all, blocked up the narrow road. Headed by an imposing display of rebel colours and battle flags, guarded by a small detachment, and followed by the captured guns creeping along with reluctant drivers, the sight of this unwieldy and heterogeneous column told the whole story of the morning's achievements. No official report was necessary to explain it. Crook pressed on, content with now and then asking a prisoner where he had belonged, and shortly after met with Davies' brigade, retreating as slowly as possible before a much superior force of infantry. The soldiers seemed almost wild with the excitement of success; every countenance beamed with delight. Officers grasped each other in hearty congratulation, General Davies rode up to his commander with a pleasant salute, modestly reported to General Crook, "General; I have made my reconnaissance." Davies is a man of remarkably short stature, and small but neat in form. He is about thirty years of age, and at the breaking out of the war was a lawyer of several years' practice in New York city, having graduated at Columbia College. He entered the service as a line officer in the famous Fifth New York, or Duryea Zouaves, in which Warren, Kilpatrick, and other officers now

of high rank, were his contemporaries ; but shortly after the affair of Big Bethel he obtained his transfer to a field appointment in a New York cavalry regiment, and was soon thereafter made colonel of the Harris Light Cavalry. An excellent disciplinarian, gallant, ambitious, able, and commended by his superiors, his friends found ample opportunities to press his promotion. He was made brigadier-general in 1863, brevet-major general in March 1865, and soon after Lee's surrender was appointed full major-general of Volunteers. There are few officers of his rank in the army who have so clean a record of faithful and continuous service. His handsome success of this morning in the execution of orders of a most general character has added not a little to his reputation. The rebels vigorously, and with a strong force, pushed back our men, while another detachment sought to cut off and recapture the guns and prisoners ; but the boldness and celerity of our movements deceived them.

The appearance of the captures in our bivouacs at Jetersville was the occasion for intense enthusiasm. Newspaper correspondents, who had not been able to collect any sensation items for the last day or two, despatched a variety of glowing reports ; while the effect on the rank and file was hearty and encouraging. Crook's retreat was, however, by no means simple or easy. The generals sat down with the maps to consult ; but a fresh outbreak of musketry almost over their heads interfered.

Gregg's brigade was formed at once, and Davies allowed to retire for recuperation ; but the rebels appeared to be in great numbers in Gregg's front and on both of his flanks. He seemed suddenly surrounded and himself, with a large portion of his men and horses, narrowly escaped capture.

Meanwhile as the day wore on the rebels had moved down the railroad from Amelia Court-house, reconnoitring and skirmishing. Finally towards sunset, finding nothing in their front but cavalry, they seemed determined to break through. Their whole army had been disposed for battle, and once more their cavalry lines were pushed by heavy infantry. Smith's brigade, with a portion of Davies', as firmly received them in a spirit well illustrated by an episode. The First Pennsylvania had been ordered to his support, and was commanded by a gallant major named Thomas. Arrayed in full uniform, and decorated with the hat, buff sash, and gauntlets of the rebel General Fitzhugh Lee, as a part of the results of that morning's captures, he rallied his men around an elegant and

conspicuous stand of colours, handsomely embroidered with the arms of Pennsylvania. The enemy were at first repulsed, as though surprised at the audacious charges of our men, and a soldier of the First Pennsylvania captured a rebel colour. The recapture was attempted, and in the *melee* the colour fell into the hands of a member of the Thirteenth Ohio.

It was the standing order of the army that the captors of the enemy's colours should receive furloughs, and quite likely Congressional medals, and other privileges would be added. The Pennsylvania soldier, therefore, complained on the field to his major that *he* was entitled to the colour. "No," said the major, "the Thirteenth had as much right to that colour as we did. We will capture another one, and make the thing even!" And soon they did take another one, but the noble major paid for it with a leg.

It was about the same time that Colonel Janeway, the young commander of the First New Jersey, was instantly killed while leading one of the closing counter-charges of the day.

. . . . . .

Jetersville may not perhaps be recorded as the name of one of the grand battles of the war, yet Lee's and Sheridan's soldiers can never forget it. It will be remembered as a harassing succession of cavalry skirmishes and charges; isolated squadrons boldly throwing themselves on advancing battle-lines; audacious brilliant dashes wherever the rebels made their appearance; delaying and deceiving Lee; scouring the country on every side of him; halting his army when each moment of its march was its very life; pushing back his reconnoitring parties, preventing him from learning what force of Union infantry had arrived to oppose him should he choose to attack, yet challenging battle everywhere—the precious blood spilt at Jetersville, the exploits of individual valour and heroism of which no one man can ever tell—entitle the name to a conspicuous record in the military history of the country.

It was during this afternoon that a disconsolate rebel colonel thus wrote to his mother from Amelia Court-house: "Our army is ruined, I fear. We are all safe as yet. . . . . We are in line of battle this evening. General Robert Lee is in the field near us. My trust is still in the justice of our cause. I send this by a negro I see passing up the railroad to Mechlenburg." The note was captured, and soon after General Sheridan writes his famous despatch to General Grant:—

"General : I send you the enclosed letter, which will give you an idea of the condition of the enemy and their whereabouts. I sent General Davies' brigade this morning around on my left flank. He captured at Pain's Cross Roads five pieces of artillery, about two hundred wagons, and eight or nine battle flags, and a number of prisoners. The Second Army Corps is now coming up. I wish you were here yourself. I feel confident of capturing the Army of Northern Virginia if we exert ourselves. I see no escape for Lee. I will send all my cavalry out on our left flank, except M'Kenzie, who is now on the right.

(Signed) P. H. SHERIDAN, *Major-General.*"

The result of the day's operations on April 5th and the observations during the night indicated that Lee was moving his Army from Amelia Court-house toward Lynchburg. Early on the morning of the 6th, however, the Army of the Potomac, which was now at Jetersville, advanced North toward the Court-house, with orders from General Meade to attack the enemy vigorously. General Meade had not thus far enjoyed any opportunity for participating in the active battles of the pursuit ; and it is quite likely that, had he not been obliged by ill health to remain quiet in an ambulance during the march of the 5th inst., more accurate information would have caused an earlier modification of this order for the 6th inst.

At daylight the cavalry was soon marched away from Jetersville, taking the roads directly south towards Burke's station until a way was reached by which Sheridan might be able to throw his columns upon the roads used by Lee on his march towards Lynchburg, making a little detour to the south to avoid interfering with the movements of the infantry marched towards Deatonsville, a cross roads and small village on the enemy's line of march, Crook's division leading off. Merritt's Corps (Devins' and Custer's divisions), were also brought around from the right of the infantry, according to the programme indicated in Sheridan's despatch of the day before, and following Crook for a short distance soon diverged on his right and sought at once to strike Lee's line of march. Although most officers of the cavalry corps believed that the main body of the rebel army had by this time left Amelia Court-house, still if this was not the case, while Meade's army should fight them there, Sheridan would completely intercept their further retreat, thus perhaps winding up the campaign. Lee, however, seemed to have partially anticipated these movements, and therefore hurried his army as fast as possible out of this new snare which further delay might have brought upon him. Humphreys with the Second Corps soon reported to General Meade that the enemy was moving away from his front towards the

left. Wheeling his army as soon as possible in that direction, General Meade found his troops of the Second Corps in contact with, and closely pursuing the rear guard of Lee's army. This movement towards Amelia Court-house was therefore the occasion of considerable delay in further intercepting the retreat, causing a detour of several miles in the march of some of the corps before they actually reached the enemy. Sheridan, meanwhile, had never waited nor halted. The enemy's wagons and troops were soon espied moving as anticipated. The Army of the Potomac had no occasion to fight at Amelia Court-house, and the policy now was to strike the rebels anywhere while on the march, destroy more of his trains, delay and harass him until he at last could be completely intercepted. There was therefore no reconnoitring, but an immediate attack wherever our troops could see the enemy. Merritt's troops (Custer's and Devins' divisions) struck the rebel columns at Deatonsville and Crook a little further to the west on the Farmville and Lynchburg road.

Custer and Devins found themselves in open country, and their charges into the enemy's train resulted in considerable destruction. They also succeeded in holding the enemy at Deatonsville until the appearance of our infantry. The country along the lane by which he advanced on the enemy was densely wooded. There was but little opportunity to fight dismounted, and while our troopers pulled aside the branches as they struggled through the woods to form their lines of battle, a well-developed force of infantry met them with a destructive fire. With Smith's brigade on the right, and Gregg's on the left, our men stood their ground firm, but when it was evident they had encountered the main body of Lee's infantry corps, they were quietly withdrawn, and ordered to proceed again towards the left of Merritt. Crook was now in his turn to march around Merritt's rear, and to strike the enemy again on Merritt's left. Thus would Lee's flanks be constantly assailed, and unless he halted his entire army the chances were most favourable that Sheridan would by these successive attacks in flank encounter some weak point and sever Lee's columns while on the march. It was in this attempt, at last so gloriously successful, that was fought the famous battle of Sailor's Creek.

Most justly has it been the theme of flaming official bulletins from the generals whose forces were there engaged. These, however, convey to the popular mind only very indefinite ideas; they tell of

an attack with General So-and-so on the right, and such a corps on the left; of a grand success, with the capture of so many prisoners, guns, small arms, and colours; of the good behaviour of all soldiers and officers, and end with calling attention to the conduct of some particular officers, who may have come under more immediate observation of their chiefs than some of their less fortunate, but equally deserving compeers. But it is for the artist who has witnessed these battle scenes, when he paints them on the life-like canvas, or the master mind who can group together all the facts of the contest, making a series of pen pictures of deeds of unemblazoned heroism, depicting in all their stern grandeur the fearful strife of war, telling with truthfulness and touching simplicity of those

> "Ten thousand glorious actions that might claim
> Triumphant honours or immortal fame,"

to give to history the story of a battle. Leaving then this task in such hands, I am only now speaking of that which I saw, *et quorum pars fui.*

In the course of the overlapping successive attacks by the divisions under Devins, Custer, and Crook, by which Sheridan essayed to strike a weak point of the enemy, Custer soon after noon found himself near the road on which the enemy's trains and columns were moving, and quite in advance of the main body of Ewell's corps, which was apparently Lee's rear-guard.

To protect their road, therefore, the rebels must halt and fight. General Ord's column about the same time advancing from Burkesville struck Lee still further to the west, and compelled him to halt there, while the Sixth and Second Corps of the Army of the Potomac, so closely pressed the entire rear of Lee's army as to employ in their front a very considerable force. Thus was Lee's army now wearied, harassed, hungry and defeated, and with all its impediments stretched for miles along the country beset with a hopeful, enthusiastic, vigorous, and pursuing foe on its entire flank; every wagon threatened with capture or destruction; every regiment watching for battle or escape. Sheridan himself was at this time on the south of Sailor's Creek assailing the strong rear-guard of the enemy with one cavalry brigade under Colonel Stagg, who was fighting rebel infantry of ten times his strength, charging desperately their breastworks and displaying every man many times in different places. By these admirable demonstrations he occupied the enemy until the Sixth Corps arrived, when the attack became more extended and successful;

at the same time Humphreys, with the Second Corps, met the enemy and advanced on the right of the Sixth Corps. Meanwhile Custer, with his two remaining brigades, had essayed to reach the main trains passing by his front, and charged the long thin line of infantry protecting them, in vain attempts to pierce it and cut off all the troops now opposing the Army of the Potomac infantry. The rebels seemed to have been hurriedly posted in a line, taking but little of the natural advantage which the locality afforded, and protected by hastily constructed breastworks of earth and rails. A couple of pieces of artillery were rolled into position and the enemy quietly awaited the result of Custer's cavalry manœuvres on the open plain in their front. Their ammunition was precious and was not wasted.

Dismounting a few of his men to engage the enemy in the wooded portions of the field, Custer formed the remainder to charge again the rebel line in his front. The country was open and undulating, with fine positions for artillery, quite favourable for cavalry operations, and altogether what a veteran would call a splendid battle-field. Custer's two light Parrott guns relieved him of any annoyance from the rebel artillery, but the character of the country also gave either party the advantage of observing the other's manœuvres.

About this time General Crook's column appeared on the hills and filing off into dense woods seemed marching past the field further towards the enemy's advance. But this was only a *ruse.* Concealed in the woods, and guided partially by a "reliable contraband," the course of the column was at once changed, and just as Custer was prepared for his second charge, Crook emerged into the field on his immediate left and directly in front of the enemy. Away now to the charge dashed Custer's troopers: squadrons of "red cravats" bore down upon the esconced foe. But victory was not thus easy. Waiting until the horsemen were almost near enough to leap over the slight breastworks, the quiet line of dingy greys suddenly sprang into life, planted their rebel flags almost within the reach of the bold troopers, and with their peculiar faint cheer delivered into our ranks a most destructive volley. Saddles were emptied; horses plunged in the struggles of death, and amid din and dust, conflict and confusion, vim and valor, the charge was over. The rebels remained in their old lines, and when the smoke and dust cleared from the field Custer was reforming his lines and preparing to renew the strife.

Crook had already become engaged and indeed had joined with two regiments from Davies' brigade in this dashing but unsuccessful

charge of Custer. Crook now dismounted Gregg's brigade of his division and sent them through a thick wood on the left to strike again the enemy's road. Gregg's was, comparatively speaking, a large brigade (though of not more than from 1200 to 1500 men effective) composed entirely of Pennsylvania troops. They were reliable veterans; most of them armed with revolving carbines. Soon were heard old-fashioned volleys of infantry musketry mingling with the sharp rings of the carbines. The strife now was in thick woods and at the very side of the coveted road; and the rebels found but a poor shelter in its adjoining rail fence. Nothing, however, could be seen, and as you listened to the mingling crash and din of small arms it seemed that the dismounted troopers could scarce compete with such formidable infantry. But our men had started for the wagon train, and now seeing it were determined upon its capture. Soon therefore an aide-de-camp dashed back to General Crook with "General Gregg's compliments, sir, and his men are burning the enemy's wagon train." "Tell him to push on, destroy all he can, and charge those rebels in flank and rear," briefly replied this quiet, thorough soldier as he pointed to the colors along the rebel line which had just repulsed the charge of Custer. Gregg's mounted regiment in reserve (Twenty-first Pennsylvania) eagerly rode out to obey the order.

The afternoon was well-nigh spent. Sheridan on the South of Sailor's Creek had been heard from that he was driving the enemy before him. The guns of the Sixth Corps had been booming louder and louder for the past hour or two, and now they approached. Nearer and nearer they drew until there was not the slightest doubt of our complete success in that quarter of the field. The enemy was being pushed right into the lines of the cavalry; and he must not be allowed to escape. Every cavalry soldier heard those guns, knew whence they came, saw the rebels in front of him, and could not fail to appreciate our advantages. Our men therefore sat in their saddles with the most complete reliance and confidence, awaiting their General's commands.

Crook's lines were formed on the left of Custer, with Davies' brigade on the right mounted, and Gregg's on the left mostly dismounted and among the enemy's burning train. There was no opportunity this time to ransack or pillage the burning wagons, and their contents were scarcely noted. Smith's brigade remained in reserve. Custer had only two brigades under Wells and Pennington;

Colonel Stagg being retained by Sheridan to demonstrate in the enemy's rear as already mentioned. McKenzie's troops were also in the same quarter of the field. Devins' division, however, remained for a while as a reserve under Merritt both for Crook and Custer; but when it was seen he would be needed by neither, he was sent still further around to the left that he might again there engage the enemy, or intercept his fugitives.

These dispositions being completed, it was nearly sunset. The afternoon had been bright and clear, and while the cavalry were not able to see the infantry, yet the latter could see much of the manœuvres of the cavalry on the high ground over which part of the operations were conducted. The charges of Custer, although so far unsuccessful, were not without good results. They retained the serious attention of the enemy in his front while proving to Wright and to Sheridan that they had again found the enemy. In this connection it is curious to note that in the official report of Sheridan he mentions the fact of a soldier who had pierced the rebel lines in the first charge, miraculously escaped capture, penetrated them to the other side, and there informed his General of the true condition of affairs beyond him.

The sun was sinking in the west, scarce an hour of daylight yet remained. There had been skirmishing and fighting, and a close pursuit all day. But while it was a success, aside from the ordinary destroyed baggage, stragglers and other debris of a defeated and retreating army, nothing special had been gained. The present opportunities must be grasped or night would seize them, and the morrow would then be but a repetition of to-day. The enemy in front of us must be completely broken; he must be destroyed or captured, and as the guns of the Sixth Corps were now almost within range of those of the cavalry, it seemed a natural instinct to anticipate the orders for another charge. Aides-de-camp flew among the cavalry front and quickly indicated to the different commanders the direction of their advance. Brigade officers dashed through their regiments, regiments gathered up their squadrons; and soon curving up and down the undulations of the open fields, hidden here and there by pretty little clumps of evergreen, the lines of Union troopers slowly and quietly advanced once more on the rebel line. Custer with his gay red and white head-quarters' pennant, and surrounded by a small staff, and orderlies bearing captured rebel colors, was on the right directing the movements of his two brigades under Wells and

Pennington ; and Crook on the left with a few orderlies, and his color bearer carrying the plain blue flag of his division, moved among his troops under Smith and Davies. Gregg was assigned the work of still pressing, dismounted, his advantages already gained. Thus, four mounted brigades of cavalry, within sight of each other as well as the common foe, regularly and quietly walked towards him. It was grand and imposing ; it was morally sublime, and I doubt not as each man grasped more tightly his sabre, his arm was nerved with the righteousness of the cause and a consciousness of duty ; while many a strong heart beat within those soldiers' bosoms as thoughts of mother, sister, sweetheart, wife, quickly rose and whispered of the prayers from the firesides at home. Yea, and who shall say that there were not in those brief moments silent offerings to Him who giveth life and taketh it away again.

The spring flowers smiling coyishly through the grass were literally trodden under the iron hoof of war ; they carpeted the field for Sheridan's squadrons, but withal were passed unheeded. So began the charge. No wonder that when the hostile lines approached, the very sight shook the rebel centre. One, two, then three, then little groups of men in gray were seen hurrying back from the light breast-works. This was enough. It was easy to see that now was the time. A bugle sounded, and as bugle after bugle echoed "the charge" along that line of cavalry, there was one grand jump to conflict. All was dust and confusion ; horses and men fell dead across the rebel works. Every fire-arm might have been discharged, but on one side all was desperation, horror, and dismay, while on the other confidence, enthusiasm, and victory. The rebel line was gone, and squads, companies, and regiments were flying over the hills. Horsemen were among them, and turned them back with empty arms as prisoners. Others more quickly sought for safety, by waving the white flag of surrender. Troopers in blue rode fearlessly and carelessly among a motley mob in grey, and received their unceremonious surrender. All was excitement and irregularity ; scarce an organized squadron could be seen. Meanwhile the guns of Wright's Corps sent their missiles of destruction among both parties, and a heavy skirmish line appeared over the brow of the hill, intercepting the flying foe. A group of fugitive horsemen ahead of us suddenly halted, and then turned in another direction ; then they hesitated again. Infantry on one side of them, cavalry on the others ! Might they not pass between them? But it was too late. Their surrender was demanded,

and Lieutenant-General Ewell, in command of Lee's most reliable corps now the rear-guard of his Army, with his staff became prisoners of war. Their captors turned them toward our lines, and soon this plain group in dingy gray, some of whose horses bore two riders, all poorly mounted and caparisoned, the leaders of a fallen foe, defeated, captured, with a disappointed, sad, and sullen sensation which a prisoner only can appeciate, were marched to the Union rear.

They had not all escaped the vandalism of the battle-field. Some of the party had been obliged to surrender their valuables to some unauthorized and venturesome "Yankee," and the vehemence of the contest, not yet entirely over, led the captives to make repeated solicitations of those they met with for safe and honourable treatment. Seeing a Union officer at his side, one of the staff remarked: "This officer is a gentleman, sir; I know he is. I appeal to you, sir, for protection. My watch has been stolen." "That is to be regretted, sir; if it can be found, it will be restored, and the thief punished." Rider number two on some of the horses, being rather inconveniently seated between the saddle and the animal's tail, occasionally ventured an expression indicative of the unpleasant means of that species of locomotion; but with these exceptions, the party had little to say until General Custer and staff were encountered. Ewell expressed his satisfaction at having fallen into such good hands, and begged that General Custer would cease hostilities there at once, that all Ewell's men would immediately surrender, especially if he could send an officer among them and so order them, for which he requested permission. Pointing to a part of the field where there was evidently a considerable force of the enemy yet assembled, with no means of escape, General Ewell entreated that they should be fought with no longer. They were his men, and he felt confident they would surrender. While it was hardly likely that this request was a *ruse* to gain time for other manœuvres, this was possible, and Custer, being a subordinate was unauthorized to stop the fight. The matter was soon put at rest by Wright's infantry closing in upon all the men in question, and receiving their complete surrender.

The sun had by this time gone down; its lingering, sweeping rays had not seen the final conflict. The fields, which all the afternoon had listened to the patter of small arms, and the sharp ring of rifled canon, were now strewn with the thousand fresh evidences of a recent battle; while the booming of distant guns from other parts of the army tolled the knell of the fallen, and fitly harmonized with the

dusky gloom of evening as it spread its mantle o'er the scene. Here were the fields where all the afternoon Union squadrons formed and reformed for the charge; on these were now being gathered thousands and thousands of rebel prisoners; a little further off were high breastworks broken down here and there to show where squadrons entered. Along these were scattered bleeding horses, wrecked artillery, ghastly human corses; further on smoking ruins of burning baggage wagons —while for acres the ground was strewn with side-arms, muskets, and other tokens of defeat. There were hurrying stragglers, too, of either army; Union soldiers lost in the charge, and rebels seeking present safety. But Crook was still pursuing; over hill and dale his squadrons pressed and fought the flying enemy, while Custer gathered up his little band, and darkness only ended that day's victory.

Not the least interesting feature of this battle was the completeness of the collapse of the rebel corps which fought it. From commanding General to the private soldier the sensation appeared to be the same. "We are lost and must make the best of it with our enemies." Dozens of men would surrender to a single "Yankee." When once the Union arms seemed entirely successful among the scattered rebels, the hope of escaping the present dangers of battle and of partaking of rations with the victors, rose paramount to that of military duty and honor. There could now be no *esprit de corps*, for the corps itself was no more. It was the same old organization—although altered by the incessant changes of active campaigns—with which Jackson earlier in the war swept through the valleys of Virginia, or hurled in heavy masses against the sturdy, veteran Army of the Potomac. The history is one of valor, hardship, and suffering, victory, tenacity, and final defeat. Its military discipline was most vigorous and exemplary, its confidence and self-reliance a pride and boast among its members, its bravery never questioned, its fortitude, endurance, and heroism worthy of any nation to which its men belonged, and against whose justice, beneficence and righteous power they most wickedly rebelled.

Illustrating the spirit prevailing at the close of this battle, and as one of many similar incidents doubtless never to be recorded, is the experience of an officer of General Crook's staff, who had joined in the grand final charge, when his usually quiet General at the last moment enthusiastically ordered every one about him, officer or orderly, to join in the charge whenever he pleased. "Put everything in; now everybody go in," is an inspiring command seldom

heard from the professional soldier, but always effective, never misunderstood. Joining then, the nearest squadron, this subordinate rode among the disordered foe, who, throwing down their arms, hastened back for safety into the Union lines. Never stopping, however, each trooper rode hurriedly on to overtake and capture still more of the rebel fugitives. Our young officer, not a little enthusiastic, pushed on supposing he was followed by others, when suddenly as his horse was jumping a ditch, he encountered a well formed regiment of the enemy, who had either rallied or arrived from a different position of the field and taken a favourable position to embarrass pursuit. Fortunately, just then his horse missed his footing and with his rider fell into the ditch. The horse regained himself, but the regiment just then opening a heavy musketry fire, drove him back with all our pursuing soldiers. The young aide, however, was a veteran, and unharmed, lay as if dead within a few feet of the enemy's line, while the paper and dust from their cartridges flew over and about him. Soon the fire ceased and the regiment moved away. The captain cautiously looking up perceived that he had ventured too far. Our men had all retired from that locality, and a large group of rebels were retreating over the same path he had ridden. Quick as thought the little fellow sprang up and demanded their surrender, saying that they might as well surrender now to him as go any further, our cavalry was only beyond the hills and on the same road over which they were marching, but surrender they must. So alone and unaided, this Yankee marched twenty-five or thirty soldiers and their officers to a place of comparative safety. Raising then a white handkerchief from a commanding hill, he continued gathering the stragglers of the enemy, until when accidentally found by a brother officer, he was the sole custodian, commander, and guard of more than fifty rebel soldiers with ten or a dozen of their officers; and he marched them in triumph to the bivouac of his General. So runs the excitement, the ever-varying chances of war!

Not the least among the noticeable features of this battle is the amusing behaviour of mules under fire. In some of the brigades there were a large number of the soldiers mounted on these interesting animals, who had been picked up about the country to supply the places of worn-out horses. Sometimes half of a regiment would be so mounted, and as they stood in the line awaiting the charge there was little in the demure countenances of these long-eared creatures to remind one of the "fiery steed" or the "mettled charger" which

the license of the pen habituates to the battle-field. When a charge is sounded these undisciplined mules do not jump with sympathetic inspiration at the first touch of the spur. With characteristic obstinacy they start slowly, and their speed is only increased with considerable difficulty and attentive chastisement. When once fairly under way, however, and dashing headlong forward in their jumping, kicking, native style, their riders need give them no further attention, the crowd rushes on, and each individual mule knows no master. So when a number of them were thus directed towards the enemy's line one of two things was inevitable: either, regardless of any obstacle, they would clear the slight breastworks, unless shot, disappear in the rebel rear, or else, stopping suddenly, plant themselves in its front, with pricked-up ears, head most reverently lowered, and extended legs, assume a firm, defiant, and immovable attitude, which no other beast has ever attempted. In either of these cases their riders' chances of escape from capture or death are very indifferent, and none appreciate this fact better than the veterans. Therefore, when the mules had reached that pitch of obstinate excitement which knew no control, there was something indescribably laughable in the unique attempts of their riders to dismount under difficulties. While some risked their fate by throwing themselves precipitately from the saddle, the animals going at full speed, others, more dexterous, quickly slipped along his back and down *via* his tail to the ground. When then one charge was repulsed, and a large number of these mules was seen returning with empty saddles, it was believed our loss must have been exceedingly severe. But shortly afterwards, covered with dust and dirt, and to the serious amusement of their comrades, the mule troopers straggled back from their perilous proximity to rebels, mingled with the laughter of their more fortunate associates, long, loud, deep, and not a little profane were their wild execrations against "mule cavalry."

Among the results of this day's victory are the capture of six rebel generals—Ewell, Kershaw, Button, Corse, De Barre, and Custis Lee—fourteen guns, many caissons, wagons, battle flags, and several thousand prisoners. Of the latter it is impossible to learn the exact number; it will never be known. Commanding officers themselves never received reports of the number taken only on that day, and their official estimates are only approximate. Certain it is, however, that several thousand were assembled that evening in the cavalry bivouac, while many more, of course, were with other commands.

In this interesting campaign the operations of one day followed so closely and were so united during the night to those of the next that it is difficult to say exactly what part of its grand movements and successes were accomplished in any one particular day. The complete results appear only at its conclusion.

"If the thing is pressed, I think Lee will surrender," says Sheridan in his official despatch to Grant at the close of the day. The next day Grant wrote first to Lee on the subject.

F I N I S.

"INTER FOLIA FRUCTUS."

THE REBELLION OF 1715.

GATHERING CLOUDS:

BEING

A CONTEMPORARY ACCOUNT

OF THE

EVENTS IMMEDIATELY PRECEDING THE REBELLION.

"History is but the unrolled scroll of Prophecy."
JAMES A. GARFIELD.

PRIVATELY PRINTED
FOR THE CLARENDON HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

1884.

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INTRODUCTION.

A GREAT mass of historical information lies buried in our old News-Sheets, crushed under a mountain of trivialities and gossip, and only picked out at long intervals by the historian in search of contemporary information.

Hardly any readers have the slightest idea how graphic are many of the descriptions contained in these neglected publications, or what vivid pictures of long-forgotten habits and customs are concealed by the dust which has accumulated on their worm-eaten pages.

Few events in our history have more interest than the Rebellions of 1715 and 1745, and I have thought that my fellow-members would be glad to see how these events appeared to those who lived in London during the eventful days of the former attempt on the part of the Stuarts to recover the throne of their fathers.

From the "present state of Europe, or Historical and Political Monthly Mercury" of 1715 to 1716, I have compiled three sets of extracts relating respectively to the events which immediately preceded, accompanied, and followed the expedition of the Old Pretender.

The following pages are confined to the transactions previous to the 12th of October, 1715; the second series will extend

from that date to the landing of the Pretender in France on the 9th of February, 1716; and the third will contain a detailed account of the trials of the various prisoners which fell into the hands of the Government.

In conclusion, it must not be forgotten that the account here given was written by a partisan of the *de facto* goverment under the eyes of a rigid censorship.

EDMUND GOLDSMID.

THE REBELLION OF 1715.

GATHERING CLOUDS.

ON the 28th of June, Mr. Secretary Stanhope acquainted the House of Commons, That he had a Message from His Majesty signed by his Majesty; and he presented the same to the House, which Mr. Speaker read, and is as follows.

GEORGE, R.

'HIS Majesty having received an Address from the Commissioners appointed for building Fifty New Churches in and 'about the Cities of London and Westminster, and Suburbs thereof, 'representing how difficult they find it to proceed in perfecting the 'Establishment of such Churches, for want of a due Maintenance 'for the Ministers who are to attend the Service of the same; and 'praying him to recommend it to the Care and Wisdom of the Par-'liament to provide such Maintenance, that this Good Work may 'not be rendered ineffectual for want of such a Provision, His 'Majesty does most heartily recommend it to this House, to consider 'of the best Means of settling such a Maintenance, as may bring 'this pious Design to Perfection, for the Honour of the Church of 'England, and the Advancement of our Holy Religion.

The Commons having taken a Resolution suitable to the Importance of this Message, presented the following Address to his Majesty.

The Humble ADDRESS *of the* House *of* Commons *to the* KING.

Most Gracious Sovereign,

WE your Majesty's most Dutiful and Loyal Subjects, the Commons of Great Britain in Parliament assembled, having, with the utmost Satisfaction, received Your Majesty's Gracious Message, recommending to us the providing a Maintenance for the

Ministers who are to attend the Service of the Fifty New Churches, intended to be Erected in and about the Cities of London and Westminster, and the Suburbs thereof; beg Leave to assure Your Majesty, That we will with all Cheerfulness set about the making such a Provision as shall fully answer Your Majesty's Pious Intentions, and the Wants of so many of the Inhabitants of your Two Great and Populous Cities.

It is very grateful to Your Obedient Commons to be Employ'd in a Work that is so much for the Honour of the Church of England, and the Advancement of our Holy Religion; and that comes Recommended by so Gracious a Sovereign, who, ever since His Happy Accession to the Throne, has taken all Occasions to Express a Great and Tender Concern for the Support of our Excellent Constitution both in Church and State, and the Good Order and Welfare of His Subjects.

As we shall always be ready to do our Parts towards the Attaining these Great Ends, in every Thing that comes before us; so we trust, That this good Work in particular, which Your Majesty has so much at Heart, will bring down the Blessing of God upon all Your Undertakings, and be a Means of promoting the Quiet and Peace, as it cannot but add to the Glory of Your Reign.

May Your Majesty live not only to see it Accomplished, but to Enjoy the Fruits of Your Piety in a Long and Prosperous Reign, over a Religious and Orderly, an Obedient and Thankful People.

His Majesty's Most Gracious ANSWER.

Gentlemen,

'I Thank you for the just Concern expressed in this Address for our Excellent Constitution both in Church and State, and for the 'Assurances you give me of promoting so Good and Pious a Design, 'I could not expect less from a House of Commons which hath 'given so many Proofs of their Affection to Me and My Government.'

The Report of the Committee of Secrecy, appointed by the House of Commons, to examine the Papers relating to the Negociations of the late Peace, and other important Transactions, wherein the Honour as well as the Interest of the Nation are so highly concerned, has made so much Noise, and those Gentlemen that so honourably discharged that high Trust, that we cannot but insert here the Names of those brave Patriots, who are as follows.

Sir Richard Onslow, Bar. — Algernoon, Earl of Hertford.
Robert Walpole, Esq; — Edward Wortley Montague.

Spencer Cowper, Esq ;
James Stanhope, Esq ;
Hugh Boscawen, Esq ;
William Pultney, Esq ;
Nicholas Lechmere, Esq ;
Daniel, Lord Finch.
John Aislaby, Esq ;
Thomas, Vernon, Esq ; of Worcestershire.
Sir David Dalrimple, Bart.
George Bailie, Esq ;
Sir Joseph Jekyll, Kt.
Thomas Erle, Esq ;
Richard Hampden, Esq ;
Sir Robert Marsham, Bar.
Alexander Denton, Esq ;
Thomas Pitt, Senior, Esq ;
Thomas, Lord Coningsby.

On the 9th of June, Mr. Walpole, Chairman of the said Committee, acquainted the House, That the Committee of Secrecy had perus'd the Books and Papers referr'd to them, and had agreed upon a Report which they had commanded him to make; which he did accordingly, and after having read the same, deliver'd it at the Table, together with the Appendix and the Books, which were referr'd to the said Committee.

The Reading of the said Report took up Five Hours, and the same, tho' as much contracted as the nature of the Thing could bear, being very long, it cannot be expected that we should insert it here, nor even offer to abridge it. We shall content our selves to observe, That the Books and Papers referr'd to the said Committee, related to these Five Heads, viz. 1. The Negociations of Peace and Commerce. 2. The Intended Demolition of Dunkirk. 3. The obtaining and disposing of the Assiento Contract. 4. The Negociations concerning the Catalans : and, 5. The several Transactions relating to the Pretender; but the Committee have in that respect only gone through the Books and Papers that relate to the 1st, 4th, and 5th Heads, having referr'd the Affair of Dunkirk and Assiento for another Report.

It being not our Design to transcribe the Votes of the House of Commons, but only to take Notice of the most material Things that have ensued upon that Report, we shall therefore observe, That on the 10th of June, the House took into Consideration that Report, and it was resolved to Impeach Henry Lord Bolingbroke, and Robert Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer, of High-Treason, and other High Crimes and Misdemeanours. The 20th of June, the House resolved likewise to Impeach James Duke of Ormond of High-Treason, and other High Crimes and Misdemeanours, and the next Day the 21st Instant, it was resolved that the House will Impeach Thomas Earl of Strafford of High Crimes and Misdemeanours.

On the 9th of July, The Ingrossed Articles of Impeachment of the House of Commons against Robert Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer, were read; And the Lord Conningsby was ordered to carry the said Articles to the Lords, directed, (before he exhibits the said Articles to the Lords) to Impeach Robert Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer, to the Effect following, viz.

My LORDS,

THE Commons assembled in Parliament, having receeived Information of divers Traiterous Practices and Designs of a Great Peer of this House, Robert Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer, have commanded me to Impeach the said Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer, of High Treason, and other High Crimes and Misdemeanours: And I do here, in their Names, and in the Names of all the Commons of Great-Britain, Impeach Robert Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer, of High Treason, and other High Crimes and Misdemeanours. I am further commanded by the House of Commons, to pray and demand of your Lordships, That the Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer, may be sequestered from Parliament, and forthwith committed to Safe Custody.

The Lords having taken these Articles into Consideration, order'd the Earl of Oxford to be taken into Custody of the Black-Rod, where he continued for some Days, by reason of his Indisposition, and on the 16th was sent to the Tower.

The House of Commons being inform'd of the Riots committed in several Parts, to disturb the Tranquility and Happiness of the Kingdom, express'd a just Resentment against the Authors thereof, and presented the 19th of July, the following Address to His Majesty.

The Humble ADDRESS *of the* House of Commons *to the* KING.

Most Gracious Sovereign,

WE Your Majesty's most Dutiful and Loyal Subjects, the Commons in Parliament assembled, being highly concerned at the continued Endeavours of the Enemies of Your Person and Government, to disturb the Tranquility and Happiness of Your Kingdoms, and to deprive Your People of the great Blessings they enjoy under Your Auspicious Reign: And it having appeared to Us, That, by the Encouragement and the false and traiterous Insinuations of Persons disaffected to Your Title and Government great Numbers of your poor deluded Subjects have been prevailed

upon, in many Parts of the Kingdom, to assemble together, and in a tumultuous and rebellious Manner to commit great Disorders, and do great Injuries to others of their Fellow-Subjects and Fellow-Protestants, We think it our indispensable Duty on this Occasion to express our utmost Abhorrence of all such Traiterous Proceedings, and our highest Resentment against the Authors and Promoters of them; and to renew to Your Majesty the hearty and vigorous Resolutions of Your faithful Commons, to support Your Majesty and Your Government against all Your open and secret Enemies; and to contribute the utmost in our Power to the Honour and Safety of Your Sacred Person, and the Quiet and Security of Your Government.

And to that End, We crave Leave most humbly to beseech Your Majesty, That you will be graciously pleased to give Directions to the several Magistrates throughout Your Kingdoms, that the Laws now in Force may be put in a speedy, and in the most vigorous Execution, against all such Persons as shall be found any ways concerned in the Rebellious and Tumultuous Riots and Disorders which have been committed, and are now carrying on, by Persons Disaffected to Your Majesty and Your Government; and that a strict Enquiry may be made to discover the Authors and Promoters of them, so as they may be brought to condign Punishment.

And it being apparent, That the Neglect or Misbehaviour of many Justices of Peace, and other Magistrates, hath given great Encouragement to the said Disorders, we crave Leave, in all Humility, to beseech Your Majesty, that an Acount may be taken of such Justices of the Peace as have failed in the Discharge of their Duty on these Occasions; and that such of them as shall appear to Your Majesty to have neglected their Duty, may forthwith be put out of the Commissions of the Peace; and that such other Magistrates as shall likewise appear to Your Majesty to have neglected their Duty therein, may be proceeded against with the utmost Rigour of the Law.

And as Your Loyal Commons are fully assured, That by the Wisdom and Steadiness of Your Administration, the Sceptre in Your Royal Hand will soon become a Terror to all those who, by Open or Secret Practices, shall any way abet the Enemies of Your Person or Government; so from our most Dutiful Regard to Your Majesty, and in Justice to those of Your Subjects, who, for their Zeal and firm Adherence to Your Majesty and Your Government, have been Sufferers in the said Tumultuous and Traiterous Disorders, We do

most humbly beseech Your Majesty, That You will be most Graciously pleased to give Directions, that an exact Account be taken of the Losses and Damages which any of Your Subjects have sustained by reason of the said Tumultuous and Rebellious Proceedings, and that the Sufferers may have full Compensation made them for their Damages; Your Faithful Commons most humbly assuring Your Majesty, That all Expences which shall be incurred on that Account, shall be made good to Your Majesty out of the next Aids that shall be afterwards granted by Parliament.

And for the Security of Your Sacred Person, and the Quieting the Minds of Your Faithful Subjects, We do further most humbly advise Your Majesty, That You will be Graciously pleased to give Orders, that the Magistrates throughout the Kingdom, in their several Stations, do speedily and effectually put the Laws in Execution against Papists and Nonjurors.

His MAJESTY's *most Gracious* ANSWER.

Gentlemen,

'I Thank you heartily for your Address and the many Marks of 'Zeal and Affection which you express for My Honour, and 'Safety, and the Security of the Kingdom. I will give immediate 'Directions for putting in Execution, the several Matters which you 'so justly recommend to Me; And as I am resolved on all Occa-'sions to follow the Advice of My Parliament, so I have no Doubt 'but that by the Blessing of Almighty GOD and your seasonable 'and vigorous Assistance, I shall soon be enabled, effectually to 'suppress that Spirit of Rebellion, which is so industriously fomented 'among us; And to establish the Peace and Prosperity of My 'People.'

The next Day, being the 20th of July, His Majesty was pleased to give the Royal Assent to

An Act to explain an Act for the further Limitation of the Crown, and better securing the Rights and Liberties of the Subject.

An Act for preventing Tumults and Riotous Assemblies.

An Act that the Solemn Affirmation and Declaration of the People called Quakers, *&c.*

After which his Majesty was pleased to make the following most Gracious Speech to both Houses.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THE Zeal you have shown for Preserving the Peace of my Kingdoms, and your Wisdom in providing so good a Law to prevent all Riotous and Tumultuous Proceedings, give me great Satisfaction; but I am sorry to find that such a Spirit of Rebellion has discover'd it self, as leaves no Room to doubt but those Disorders are set on Foot and encouraged by Persons disaffected to my Government, in Expectation of being supported from Abroad.

The Preservation of our Excellent Constitution. and the Security of our Holy Religion, has been, and always shall be, My chief Care; and I cannot question but your Concern for these invaluable Blessings is so great, as not to let them be exposed to such Attempts as I have certain Advices are preparing by the Pretender from Abroad, and carrying on at Home by a restless Party in his Favour.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

In these Circumstances I think it proper to ask your Assistance, and make no Doubt but you will so far consult your own Security, as not to leave the Nation, under a Rebellion actually begun at home, and threatened with an Invasion from abroad, in a defenceless Condition: And I shall look upon the Provision you shall make for the Safety of my People, as the best Mark of Your Affection to Me.

Both Houses were highly surprised at the Advice communicated by his Majesty of the Design of our Enemies to invade this Kingdom, and therefore came to vigorous Resolutions to support his Majesty with their Lives and Fortunes. The Address presented by the Lords on that Occasion, is as follows.

Most Gracious Sovereign,

WE Your Majesties most Dutiful and Loyal Subjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament Assembled, beg Leave to Return Your Majesty the Most humble Thanks of this House, for your Majesties most Gracious Assurances, that the Preservation of our excellent Constitution, and the Security of our Holy Religion, has been, and always shall be Your chief Care; And for Communicating to Your Parliament the Advices from Abroad of an intended Invasion of these Kingdoms, Countenanced and Encouraged by Insurrections here at Home, Fomented and Stirred up by the Abettors and Supporters of the Pretender's Interest. And we do most humbly Assure Your Majesty, That this House will Stand by and Assist Your Majesty, at the Hazard of our Lives and Fortunes,

in Support and Defence of Your Sacred Person, and Your Undoubted Right and Title to the Crown, in Defiance of all Your Open and Secret Enemies.

His Majesty's Most Gracious ANSWER.

My LORDS,

'I Thank you for the Zealous Affection you Express towards Me, 'and the Assurances which you give me in this Address; And 'you may depend on My Punctually making good all those which 'I have given to My People, either on this or any former Occasion.'

The Commons being returned to their House, Mr Speaker read to the House his Majesty's most Gracious Speech, whereupon they came to the following Resolution.

Resolved, *Nemine Contradicente*, That an Humble Address be presented to his Majesty, to return the most humble and dutiful Thanks of this House to his Majesty, for communicating to Parliament the Advices he has received of an Attempt preparing to be made upon the Nation from abroad, abetted and encouraged by treasonable Practices at home, in favour of a Popish Pretender; and to assure His Majesty that this House will, with their Lives and Fortunes, stand by and support his Majesty against all his open and secret Enemies; and to desire His Majesty, that he will immediately give Directions for fitting out such a Number of Ships as may effectually guard the Coasts, and to issue out Commissions for augmenting his Forces by Land; assuring his Majesty this House will, without Loss of Time, effectually enable him to raise and maintain such a Number of Forces, both by Sea and Land, as shall be necessary for the Defence of his Sacred Person, and for the Security of his Kingdoms.

His Majesty's Most Gracious ANSWER.

Gentlemen,

'I Thank you heartily for this Address, the Zeal and Vigour 'which you shew upon this Occasion, will, I trust in God, 'enable Me to defeat the Evil Designs of our Enemies. I will 'immediately give Directions for such an Increase of our Forces, by 'Sea and Land, as I shall judge necessary for your Security; and will 'order Estimates of the Charge thereof to be laid before you.'

The Act for preventing Tumults and Riotous Assemblies, which past the Royal Assent the 20th, is so material, that we shall give a short Account thereof, as follows.

IT enacts, That if Twelve or more Persons, after the last Day of this present July, assemble for the Disturbance of the Peace, they shall be commanded by a Justice of the Peace, Sheriff, Mayor, Bayliff, or other Head Officer, by Proclamation in the King's Name, to disperse, and that if notwithstanding, these Rioters continue together for one Hour after such Proclamation, the said Offenders shall be apprehended by the Mayor, Justice, Sheriff, or Under-Sheriff, Constables or other Peace-Officers of the County, City, or Town Corporate, where such Assembly shall be, and by such Persons as they shall command to their Assistance, carry'd before a Justice of Peace, and suffer Death as Felons, without Benefit of Clergy. That if any of the Rioters should be kill'd or wounded by Reason of their resisting the Persons dispersing or apprehending, or endeavouring to, disperse and apprehend them, the Peace Officers and all Persons assisting them, shall be indemnified. That those who unlawfully and by Force, demolish or pull down, or begin to demolish and pull down, any Church, Chappel, or other Building whatsoever for Protestant Worship, Dwelling-House, or Out House, the Offenders shall suffer Death as Felons, without Benefit of Clergy. That those also who by Force obstruct the Proclamation, or hurt the Pro claimers, shall suffer Death as Felons, without Benefit of Clergy.

That if any Church, Chappel, or other Building for Protestant Worship, Dwelling-House or Out-House, shall be pull'd down wholly or in Part, by any Rioters, the Inhabitants of the Hundred City, or Town, in which such Damage shall be done, shall be liable to yield Damages to the Persons injured thereby, which shall be recover'd by Action at Common-Law, against two or more of the Inhabitants, to be brought in the Name of the Rector, Vicar, or Curate of the Church or Chappel so damnify'd, in Trust for applying the Damages recover'd in rebuilding or repairing the same. This Act must be read at every Quarter Sessions, Leet, or Law-Day, the Prosecution shall be commenc'd within 12 Months after the Offence, and the said Act is to extend also to all Places for Religious Worship in Scotland which are tolerated by Law, where King George, the Prince and Princess of Wales, and their Issue, are pray'd for in express Words.

The 22d, both Houses of Convocation waited upon his Majesty at St. James's, and presented the following Address.

To the K I N G' S Most Excellent Majesty.
The humble A D D R E S S *of the Archbishop, Bishops, and Clergy of the Province of* Canterbury, *in Convocation assembled.*

WE your Majesty's most Dutiful and Loyal Subjects, the Archbishop, Bishops and Clergy of the Province of Canterbury, in Convocation assembled, do think our selves obliged in Duty and Gratitude to your Majesty, to make our most humble Acknowledgments for that gracious Message you were pleased to send to the House of Commons, recommmending the Provision of a Maintenance for the Ministers who are to attend the Service of the Fifty new Churches begun to be built in and about the Cities of London and Westminster, under the pious Encouragement of your Majesty's most excellent Predecessor, of ever blessed Memory.

A Message so piously intended and so well received, We trust cannot fail of its desired Effect, to the Honour of the Church of England, and the Advancement of our Holy Religion.

After all the Declarations your Majesty has been pleased to make in Favour of our Established Church, and the real Proofs you have given of your Concern for its Interests, We hope that none will be found so unjust as to doubt of your Affection to it. And we do most humbly assure your Majesty, that we will take all Opportunities to instill into those who are under our Care, the same grateful Sense that we our selves have of your Majesty's Goodness, and that at this Time more especially, when the Quiet of your Realms is disturbed by Insurrections at home, and the Nation threaten'd with an Invasion from abroad, we will put them in mind of those strict Obligations of Conscience, whereby they are engaged to defend and support your Majesty's Government, and will earnestly exhort them to exemplifie, by a suitable Practice, those Principles of Obedience and Loyalty, which the Church of England hath always thought it her Duty to profess.

May the Divine Providence defeat all wicked Designs that shall be formed against our Holy Faith, and your Majesty the Defender of it; and may that God who has put into your Majesty's Heart to do such great Things for us, unite the Hearts of all your Subjects, in praising his Mercy for the many Blessings we enjoy under your Majesty's most Auspicious Government, and in making all the Returns of Honour and Obedience that are due to so Good and Gracious a Sovereign.

To which his Majesty was pleased to return the following most Gracious ANSWER.

My Lords and the rest of the Clergy,

'I Take this Dutiful Address very kindly, and thank you for that 'Concern you express for the Peace of my Government. I 'depend upon the Loyalty of the Church of England; and you may 'be assured of my constant Protection and Government.'

The 29th, the following Addresses were presented to his Majesty.

To the KING's most Excellent Majesty.

The humble ADDRESS *of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the City of* London, *in Common-Council assembled.*

Most Gracious Sovereign.

WE the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Commons in Common-Council assembled, do with all Humility approach your Royal Presence, craving Leave to shew our utmost Concern at the Danger that seems now to threaten your Majesty and your Kingdoms from the Intended Invasion thereof by the Pretender, as your Majesty hath been graciously pleased to inform your People from the Throne; which intended Attempt, we fear, hath been too much encouraged by Papists, Non-Jurors, and Persons of Antimonarchical and Rebellious Principles, who have ever been declared Enemies to our most Excellent Constitution both in Church and State.

It is with great Satisfaction that we have observed your Majesty's repeated Assurances (on which we entirely rely) for the Protection and Support of the Church of England as by Law established (so much favoured and encouraged by her late Majesty Queen Anne, of glorious and immortal Memory; whereby she endeared her self to her Subjects) which Church, as it retains the greatest Purity in its Worship, so it teaches such Doctrines, and Professes such Principles as are most consistent with your Majesty's Safety, the Peace of all Government, and the Preservation of our happy Constitution.

We therefore, taught by the Doctrines of this our Holy Church, do most humbly assure your Majesty, that we have the utmost Abhorrence and Detestation of all seditious Rioters and tumultuous Persons, and their open and secret Abettors, who do in the least encourage the Hopes of the Pretender; and will continue our Endeavours to suppress and discountenance the same: And, do further assure your Majesty of our steady Adherence to your Royal Person and Govern-

ment, against the Pretender and all other your Majesty's Enemies at home and abroad.

His Majesty's most Gracious ANSWER.

'I Thank you for the seasonable Assurances you give me in this 'Juncture, of your steady Adherence to my Person and Govern-'ment.

'I am firmly resolved to protect and incourage the Church of 'England, as by Law Established; and to do everything that may 'promote the Good of my People.'

At the same time his Majesty Knighted William Thompson Esq; Recorder of the City of London.

To the *KING's* most Excellent Majesty.

The humble ADDRESS *of the Lord Mayor, and the rest of your Majestys Commissioners of Lieutenancy for your City of* London.

Most Gracious Sovereign,

YOUR Majesty is so ill treated by those who are unworthy of you, that We, Your Majesty's most Faithful and Loyal Subjects, cannot but think it our Duty at this Juncture, to Distinguish our Zeal and Affection for Your Sacred Person and Government, and give your Majesty fresh Assurances, That we will stand by you, and Strengthen your Hands against your Enemies.

We are not Surprized to hear that the Pretender is forming a Design to invade your Majesty's Dominions; it was easie to Presage, That the wicked Bargain which was lately made by the Betrayers of their Country was intended to pave the Way for him, and to Inspire him with new Hopes and Encouragements: And it was natural to expect that those who had bought us, would lay hold of the first Opportunity to send over that Impostor, to take Possession of us for their Use, and to govern us by Popish Maxims, and Arbitrary Principles.

As the Mask of Faction is at last taken off, we see that which was before even too gross to be believed; We see Non-Resisting Rebels, Passive-Obedience Rioters, Abjuring Jacobites, and Frenchify'd Englishmen; Monsters which no Age or Country produced till now!

But we are not at all Discouraged at these Things; we are perswaded that they who could trifle with Solemn Oaths, and dissemble with God and Man, can never prosper; We trust under Providence to the Righteousness of our Cause, and to the Wisdom and Virtue

of your Majesty and your Council; And as the wicked Designs of Ruining the best Church, and the best Constitution in the World, by bringing in Popery and Slavery, are now laid open, We do not doubt but that the Authors will be forsaken by their deluded Adherents, and freely given up to the Justice of an Injured Nation.

It is Matter of Shame as well as Grief, to see a Prince who left Peaceful Dominions and Faithful Subjects, that he might make us Happy and Flourishing, so ill requited by an Ungrateful Faction: But we do assure your Majesty, That the considerate and honest amongst your Subjects (which are a great Majority) know how to value the Blessing of a good King: And we do for our own Parts promise to Support (as far as in us lies) your Majesty's Crown and Dignity, and the Succession of your Royal Line, with our Lives and Fortunes; those Lives and those Fortunes which your Majesty came most seasonably to Rescue, when they were in the most imminent Danger.

His MAJESTY'S *most Gracious* ANSWER.

'THE seasonable Zeal you Express in this Dutiful Address is most Grateful to Me. And you may depend upon my constant Endeavours to secure to you, and to all my People, the Enjoyment of their Religion, Liberty, and Property.'

To the *KING's* most Excellent Majesty.

The humble ADDRESS *of your Majesties most loyal and dutiful Subjects, the Lord-Lieutenant and* Custos Rotulorum, *the Deputy-Lieutenants and Justices of the Peace of the County of* Middlesex, *and City and Liberty of* Westminster *in the said County.*

May it please your Majesty,

WE having a just Resentment and Abhorrence of the late Seditious and Rebellious Tumults, raised and fomented in several Parts of this Kingdom by the Enemies to your Majesty's Person and Government, encouraged by the Hopes of an Invasion from Abroad in favour of a Popish Pretender, do with the most unanimous Zeal take this Occasion of declaring our firm and unshaken Adherence to your Majesty and your Royal Family, whom God long preserve, and of our Resolution to maintain your undoubted Title to the Crown of these Realms, as the only Security of our Holy Religion and happy Constitution in Church and State against all the Attempts of Popery and Arbitrary Power, which we do not doubt, but by the Blessing of God on the Wisdom and Steadiness of your own well

chosen Ministry (whose Vigilance and Care in this Critical Juncture can never be sufficiently admired) will be effectually disappointed.

We cannot forbear expressing our Satisfaction, that your Majesty has a Parliament who have no other views but the Support of the Dignity of the Crown, the Security of your Majesty's Person and Government, and the Preservation of their own Rights and Liberties, which they and all Subjects must ever reckon inseparable.

It is with the utmost Abhorrence we observe some of your Majesty's Subjects flying for Protection to Foreign Powers, to avoid the Punishment due to their past Crimes, and to have an Opportunity of putting in Execution, by an open Rebellion, what they have been long contriving by private Treachery.

We beg leave, as the first Mark of our Loyalty on this Occasion, to assure your Majesty, That the Orders we have received from your Majesty and Council relating to Papists, Non-Jurors, and other disaffected Persons, shall be effectually put in Execution by us, who have the Honour to have your Majesty's Commission; and that we will do all that lies in our Power to preserve the Publick Peace, and suppress that Spirit of Rebellion which we look upon as the last Efforts of the Enemies of our Constitution.

His MAJESTY'*s most Gracious* ANSWER.

'I Thank you for the kind Assurances you give Me in this most Dutiful and most Affectionate Address.

'You may depend upon my making the Safety and Prosperity of 'my People my Constant Care.'

The 26th, the House of Commons, in order to encourage the Half-Pay Officers, came to the following Resolution.

Resolved, That an Humble Address be presented to His Majesty, That He will be graciously pleased to allow Full Pay to such Half-Pay Officers as are not otherwise provided for, and that His Majesty will give Orders to the said Officers to hold themselves in Readiness to be employed in such manner as His Majesty shall think fit; And to assure His Majesty that this House will supply such extraordinary Expence as His Majesty shall be at on this Account out of the next Aids to be afterwards granted by Parliament.

The next day His Majesty receiv'd the same very graciously, and was pleased to say, 'That He looked upon this Address as a fresh 'Instance of the Duty and Affection of this House, and of their Zeal 'for the security and Preservation of His People and Government.'

On Wednesday the 26th July the following Proclamation for suppressing Rebellions and Rebellious Tumults was publish'd.

By the KING, A PROCLAMATION,
For Suppressing Rebellions and Rebellious Tumults.

GEORGE R.

WHereas of late some of the meanest of our People have been, in divers Parts of this Kingdom, Seduced and Stirred up to Riots and Tumults, to the Disturbance of the Publick Peace, and the same are now carried into Open Rebellion, and a Levying of War against Us, and our Royal Authority, by the said Rebels, having not only Declared the End of their Rising in Arms to be to a General Purpose, and that against Law, but even Proceeded with an Armed Force, in many and distant Places, to Pull Down, Burn and Destroy the Houses and Buildings of Our Good and Peaceable Subjects, and by their having Declared for the Pretender, and actually Resisted and Engaged with Force of Arms such as by Lawful Authority were Endeavouring to Disperse them; and there is no room to Doubt but these Traiterous Proceedings are Promoted and Encouraged by Papists, Non-Jurors, and other Persons Disaffected to our Government, in Expectation of being Supported from Abroad; We have therefore thought fit, for the Suppressing and Putting a Speedy End to the said Rebellion, by and with the Advice of our Privy-Council, to Issue this Our Royal Proclamation, hereby Declaring, that all Our Officers, Civil and Military, are by the Duty of their several Offices and Commands, obliged to use their utmost Endeavours, by Force of Arms, if Necessary, to Suppress all such Traiterous Rebellions; And that in like manner, all the Subjects of this Realm are bound by Law to be Aiding and Assisting in the suppression of such Rebellions, or may act against such Rebels without the Presence of such Officer, if the Presence of such Officer cannot be had, or if such Officer Refuses or Neglects to Execute his Duty; and that all Our Dutiful and Loyal Subjects may, without any Express Warrant or Authority, Act in Defence of their Houses, Persons, or Possessions, if attacked or assaulted by such Rebels or Riotous Persons: And if any of the said Rebels shall happen to be Slain, either by the Civil or Military Officers, or our Troops, or other our Loyal Subjects acting as aforesaid, in Defence of the Laws, of our Royal Authority, and the Preservation of the publick Peace, such Killing is Justifiable, and they who do it are indemnified by Law, And We therefore

strictly Charge and Command all our Officers, as well Civil as Military, and all other Our Obedient and Loyal Subjects, That whersoever they shall meet with the said Rebels and Traitors, so, as aforesaid, in Arms and Open Rebellion against Us, they do Endeavour, without Delay, to suppress them with their Utmost Force, and to Treat them with that Severity with which Rebels and Traytors, found in Actual War and Rebellion against the Crown, may be Treated.

Given at our Court at St. James's the Twenty fifth Day of July, 1715. In the First Year of Our Reign.

GOD save the KING.

The next day two other Proclamations of the same Date were publish'd, one for putting the Laws in Execution against Papists and Nonjurors; and other for commanding all Papists to depart from the Cities of London and Westminster, and from within 10 Miles from the same; and confining them to their Habitations.

On the 25th Commissions were given out for raising 13 Regiments of Dragoons and 8 of Foot, the Field-Officers thereof being as follows.

DRAGOONS.

Colonels.	Lieutenant-Colonels.	Majors.
Owen Wynn, Esq;	*Hugh Pearson*, Esq;	*John Dunbar*, Esq;
Thomas Pepper, Esq;	*Thomas Erle*, Esq;	—— *Bellamy*, Esq;
Humphrey Gore, Esq;	*Peter Hawker*, Esq;	*Poston Knyvett*, Esq;
Philip Honywood, Esq;	*Archibald Hamilton*, Esq;	—— *Bland*, Esq;
Phineas Bowles, Esq;	*Thomas Strickland*, Esq;	—— *Ridley*, Esq;
Richard Munden, Esq;	*Clement Nevil*, Esq;	*Samuel Freeman*, Esq;
James Dormer, Esq;	*Henry Killigrew*, Esq;	*Solomon Napin*, Esq;
—— *Newton*, Esq;	*John Moyle*, Esq;	*George Keightley*, Esq;
Charles Churchill, Esq;	*George Bates*, Esq;	*Hugh Drysdal*, Esq;
James Tyrrel, Esq;	*John Stewart*, Esq;	—— *Povey*, Esq;
Sir *Robert Rich*, Bar.	*John Farmer*, Esq;	—— *Goddard*, Esq;
Richard Molesworth, Esq;	—— *Dansey*, Esq;	*John Orfeur*, Esq;
William Stanhope, Esq;	—— *Nassau*, Esq;	*Richard Manning*, Esq;

FOOT.

Thomas Stanwix,	*Thomas Weld*, Esq;	—— *Maclean*, Esq;
Sir *Charles Hocham*, Bar.	—— *Nortcliffe*, Esq;	*George Green.*
Alexander Grant, Esq.	—— *Hibbart*, Esq;	—— *Cecill*, Esq;
Charles Doubourgay, Esq;	Earl of *Dumbarton.*	
John Pocock, Esq;	—— *Whitmore*, Esq;	*William Maidman*, Esq;
Richard Lucas, Esq;		*Richardson Pack.*
Thomas Chudleigh, Esq;	*Thomas Whitney*, Esq;	—— *Douglas*, Esq;
Roger Handasyd, Esq;		*Ja. Howard*, Esq;

Orders were issued out at the same time for fitting out several Men of War to secure our coasts and Sir George Bing set out for the Downs, to take upon him the Command of the Squadron designed for that Service.

The Horse Guards and Foot Guards were ordered to encamp in Hyde-Park, to be in Readiness to march, and that the Men and Horses being used to lie in the open Field, those Troops might be in a Condition to March, for which all the necessary Dispositions, were made, and a Train of Field Pieces was sent to the Camp from the Tower.

These and the other necessary Precautions that were taken by the Government against the Pretender and his Adherents, both at home and abroad, had so good an Effect, that the Stocks which fell considerably upon the Discovery of the Designs of our Enemies, raised again few Days after; which, together with the Zeal the Parliament express'd for his Majesty and the Defence of the Nation, prov'd doubtless the highest Mortification to our Enemies, who, seeing that their Attempts have served only to awake the Nation, and encouraged them to make further Provision for their Defence, will in all Probability deny that they ever had an Invasion in view, now that they see the Impossibility of putting their wicked Designs in execution.

The Duke of Ormond has arrived in Paris. We cannot but take Notice that his Grace, who seemed so firmly resolved to stand a Tryal, that his best Friends could not perswade him to make his Submission to the King, in order to prevent an Impeachment, went away the 20th of July from his House at Richmond, the very Day that the King communicated to the House the Invasion intended by the Pretender, and was not heard of, till Letters from Paris gave an Account of his Arrival. He was attended only by a French Papist, having not thought any Protestant in his family fit to be trusted with his Design.

These Circumstances and the Visits he receiv'd at Paris from the Lord Bollingbroke, the Duke of Berwick and other Persons, known to be in the Interest of the Pretender, have justly alienated the Affection a great many People entertained for his Grace, believing that he was sincerely in the Protestant Interest of Great Britain, notwithstanding he had been deceived into some unlucky Steps, which seemed, as they were in reality, directly contrary thereunto. This appear'd shortly after in a most sensible manner, when the Articles of

Impeachment were brought against him, for several Members, Whigs as well as Tories, who had spoken in his behalf, when it was resolved to impeach him, were altogether silent, thinking it a Crime to endeavour to justifie a Man, who was welcomed at Paris by the King's, and the Nation's Enemies.

On the 20th, the Duke of Grafton took the Oaths, as Lord Lieutenant of the County of Suffolk; as did also the Lord Carteret, as his Majesty's Bailiff of the Island of Jersey. The 23rd, the Earl of Suffolk and Binden, took also the Oaths, as Lord Lieutenant of the County of Essex, and Two Days after the Dukes of Montague and Argyle did the like, the former as Lord Lieutenant of the Counties of Warwick and Northampton, and the latter as Lord Lieutenant of Surrey.

The 29th, his Majesty directed Letters Patents to pass the Seals, for creating Robert, Marquis of Lindsey, Lord Great Chamberlain of England, Duke of Ancaster and Kesteven, in the County of Devon, Evelyn, Marquis of Dorchester, Duke of Kingston upon Hull, and Thomas Hollis, Earl of Clare, Marquis of Clare, and Duke of New Castle upon Thyne.

The same Day the King was pleased to appoint the Lord Irwin Governor of Hull, in the room of Brigadier Sutton.

We had almost forgot a singular Instance of the Affection and Zeal of the Parliament for his Majesty's Service, that is, the Suspension of the *Habeas Corpus* Act, the most tender and valuable Priviledge of the English Subject; for it being justly apprehended, that that Act might favour his Majesty's Enemies, an Act passed the Royal Assent the 23rd of July, to impower his Majesty to secure and detain such Persons as his Majesty shall suspect are conspiring against his Person and Government.

To conclude our Account, in relation to the Conspiracy against the King and the Nation, we shall observe, that no Person of Note has yet been discover'd, as concern'd therein, and that none but some few profligate Wretches and Desperadoes have been taken up, which sheweth the Moderation of the Government, and that no Body has reason to be afraid of the large Power given to his Majesty, but such as are conscious of having been concerned in a Conspiracy against a Protestant King and a Free Country, in favour of a Pretender, who is an Enemy to our Holy Religion and Liberties.

The following Address having been presented few Days after the

former, we think we ought not to postpone the inserting of it to another Time.

To the KING's most Excellent MAJESTY.

The humble ADDRESS *of the Bishop and Clergy of the Cities of* London *and* Westminster.

Most Gracious Sovereign.

WE your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal Subjects, the Bishop and Clergy of the Cities of *London* and *Westminster*, most humbly crave leave to renew the Assurances we have lately given of the true and faithful Allegiance, which by the Principles and Doctrines of the Church of England, we are in Duty bound to bear to your Majesty, and to return our most hearty Thanks for your gracious and effectual Care of those Interests of our Holy Religion, in which Her late Majesty Queen ANNE, of ever Blessed Memory, proceeded so far, and which we humbly presum'd to lay before your Majesty at your Accession to the Throne. We think our selves more especially obliged to repeat those Assurances at this Time, when an Invasion apprehended from Abroad, and Tumults fomented at Home, seem combin'd together to disturb the Peace and Tranquility of your Government, to expose your Kingdoms to the danger of an Intestine War, your People to Mutual Slaughter and Destruction, and to sully the Beginnings of your Majesty's Reign.

We consider in these Circumstances with the greatest affliction of Mind, the visible Hazard of our Constitution both in Church and State, as also of your Majesty's Sacred Person, of your Royal Family, of all your good Subjects, and especially of so many Christian Souls, that there is too much reason to fear may be lost on this Occasion, unless the Hand of Heaven intervenes for your and our Defence, and enable you with the faithful and vigorous services of your Subjects to prevent the ruinous Effects of such Attempts.

It is therefore, and shall be our daily Prayer to Almighty God, to direct your Majesty's Counsels in this Exigence, to prosper your Endeavours, and grant you a happy and unbloody Issue, out of all these Difficulties. We shall also labour with all our Power to root out of the Minds of your Majesty's Subjects, under our Care, all the Seeds and Principles of Sedition, and to confirm them in those Duties of unfeigned Loyalty, and Submission to your Majesty's lawful Authority, and a hearty Affection to Monarchy, which, notwithstanding all the Contradiction and Contagion of others, have been and we trust will continue to be, a shining Part of the Character of a true

Church of England Man, and thereby we hope that by the Divine Assistance we shall be able to possess them with a lively Sense of their Duty and Interest, in adhering stedfastly to your Majesty and your Royal Family, and opposing with Heart and Hand the Pretender, his Abettors, and all others whatever that shall go about to disturb your Majesty's Goverment over us, (which God long continue) and to deprive us of the Happiness of living under it in Peace, Godliness, and Honesty.

His MAJESTY's *most Gracious* ANSWER..

'I Thank you heartily for the Assurances you give Me of your 'Loyalty and Affection to my Person and Government, and for 'the seasonable and just resentment you express against those who 'by fomenting Rebellious Tumults at Home, give the greatest En-'couragement to our Enemies Abroad; the Church of England, as 'by Law established, may depend upon having my Countenance and 'Protection.'

Having already observ'd what Precautions were taken in England to defeat the Designs of the Pretender, we shall close our Mercury with this short Letter from Edinburgh, which sheweth that nothing has been omitted for Securing the Tranquility of North-Britain.

Edinburgh, July 29.

SEveral Expresses are arrived here from London, with Orders to countermand the three Batallions that are gone for Ireland, but they were embark'd and under sail before the said Orders could overtake them, and we are now told, that our Troops here will be reinforc'd with two or three Regiments from Flanders. The Lord Justice Clerk has dispatch'd several Expresses to summon hither all Suspected Persons to take the Oaths and give Securities, according to the new Act of Parliament. General Wightman has posted the Lord Irwin's Batallion at Inverlocky; and the two Regiments of Dragoons along the Coasts betwixt this Place and Berwick. The Lord Shannon's Regiment of Foot is encamped here in St. Ann's Yard, near the Palace of Holyrood House, with a Company of Artillery, and nine Pieces of Cannon: Besides which Precautions, the Magistrates of this City have doubled the Guards, and the Governour of the Castle has done the same. As for the Pretender's Friends, we don't hear of any that appears for him, and every Thing is very quiet in these Parts.

Edinburgh, Aug. 9. Upon certain Advice of an Invasion design'd by the Pretender, many Persons of Quality, Gentlemen of Substance, &c. in this City and Nation, thought it their Duty and Interest to do their utmost to put the Country in a Posture of Defence, and to unite all his Majesty's faithful Subjects in that good Design. For this end they agreed upon the following Associations and Circular Letter, which had a very happy Effect; so that in this City, and that of Glasgow, and other considerable Towns, the Money was chearfully subscribed, and honest Men were in a readiness, upon Orders from the Government, to list themselves thro' the Kingdom, and take Arms against the Pretender.

The first Association was for those who were not only willing to venture their Lives, but capable of advancing Money for the Defence of his Majesty's Title; And the second was for those who were willing and capable to fight in so good a Cause, but not able to take the Field at their own Charge. By this means, we doubt not, through the Blessing of God, to have a great Body of brave men ready, if Occasion requires, that will venture their Lives out of Principle, in so glorious a Cause, and will strike the Enemies of God and King George with Terror: as our Ancestors did the Enemies of our Liberty and Religion in former Days.

The first Association of Men of Quality and Substance.

WE under-subscribing, being under a deep Sense of the Goodness of Almighty GOD in bringing to the peaceable Possession of the Imperial Crown of these Realms, our only Rightful and Lawful Sovereign King George, under whose good and wise Administration we enjoy the invaluable Blessings of having our pure and holy Religion and just Liberties preserved to us, and the comfortable Prospect of transmitting them to Posterity; and considering, That the Welfare and Safety of these Nations, and of the Reformed Religion both at Home and Abroad, do, next under God, depend upon the Preservation of his Majesty's Royal Person and Government; and that both before, and since his Majesty's happy Accession, there has been, and still is, a restless Popish and Jacobite Faction, who have left no pernicious Contrivance unattempted, to impose on us a Popish Pretender, tending to the utter Subversion and Destruction of our Laws and Liberties, and of every thing that is dear to us as Men and Christians: And that we have at present certain Evidences, That there is on Foot a Design of an Invasion

from Abroad in Favour of the Pretender while his Friends and Abettors at home are preparing to involve these Nations in Blood and Confusion, and wreath the Yoke of Popery and Slavery about our Necks: And being convinced, that it is our Duty, as good Protestant Subjects, to contribute our Endeavours for preventing these malicious and fatal Attempts, We do, conform to the laudable Practice in former Times of imminent Danger, hereby mutually promise, and solemnly engage and oblige our selves to stand by and assist one another, to the utmost of our Power, in the Support and Defence of his Majesty King George, our only Rightful Sovereign and of the Protestant Succession now happily establish'd, against all open and secret Enemies, for the Preservation and Security of our Holy Religion, Civil Liberties, and most excellent Constitution both in Church and State: And seeing there are many well affected Persons, who are not able without being subsisted, to concur with us, for securing the Publick Peace at a Distance from their Houses and Imployments, in case a Foreign Invasion or intestine Insurrection should be attempted, or made to disturb his Majesty's Right and Possession: Therefore we bind and oblige us, each of us for ourselves, to pay and advance the Summs of Money annex'd to our several Subscriptions, for supporting and maintaining of such a Number of Men, to receive Orders from his Majesty's Commander in Chief in Scotland for the time, for so many Days as the Commissioners or Managers after-mention'd shall find the Money subscribed for, sufficient to maintain: And it is hereby declared, That we have instantly at our subscribing advanc'd the fourth Part of the Sum for which we have subscribed, which is deposited in the Hands of whom we hereby nominate to be our Treasurer: And it is also hereby provided and declared, That a competent number of Managers shall be chosen and elected by us, in manner after-mention'd for expending of the Money, according to the Intent of these Presents, and for giving such necessary Directious and Orders as shall be proper from Time to Time, and that these Managers shall forthwith, upon their Election be impower'd to employ what part the Money in the Hands of the said our Treasurer, they shall think fit, for raising and maintaining the said Men, and afterwards to order him to lay out and dispose of the Remainder, by Warrants under their or the major part of their Hands to him directed, as Emergents shall require, with full Power to them, in case they shall see a Necessity for further Advances to be made by us, to

call for what Moietys of the remaining part of our Subscription-Money they shall think fit, which we hereby oblige ourselves to pay to them, or their Order, on Demand. And it is further provided and declared by these Presents, That such of us as do subscribe for Pounds Sterling, or above, shall have a Vote in the Election of the said Commissioners or Managers; and that such of us as shall be so entitled to vote in the said Election, shall determine the Number of the said Commissioners or Managers, and appoint what part of them shall be a Quorum, and give them general Directions and Instructions how to manage in that Trust. Provided always, and it is hereby specially provided and declared, That our said Treasurer shall, upon his Acceptance grant an Obligation to be lodged in the Hands of the said Commissioners, to accompt to them for all the Money he shall receive by Virtue hereof, and to repay to the several Contributors according to the sums they shall advance, their Proportions of what Part thereof shall remain undisposed of, as soon as he shall be ordered so to do by the said Commissioners. And lastly, Being sensible, that is our duty to be always on our Guard against the treasonable Practices of these his Majesty's restless Enemies, we do hereby bind and oblige ourselves, That tho' God in his Mercy should disappoint our present Fears, yet this our Association shall stand in full Force in case of any Attempt which hereafter may be made by the said Pretender or his Abettors, against the Person or Government of his present Majesty King George, or the Protestant Succession in his Royal Family, and to make payment of what Part of our Subscription-Money shall remain unexpended at this Occasion, when demanded by the Commissioners.

In Witness whereof, these Presents concerted at *Edinburgh* the First Day of *August*, 1715, being the First Day of the second Year of the auspicious Reign of our Sovereign Lord, *George*, of *Great-Britain*, *France*, and *Ireland*, King, are subscribed by

The second Association of the Common People.

WE under-subscribing, being under a deep Sense of the Goodness of Almighty God, in bringing to the Peaceable Possession of the Imperial Crown of these Realms, our only Rightful and Lawful Sovereign King George, under whose Good and Wise Administration we enjoy the invaluable Blessings of having our Pure and Holy Religion and just Liberties preserved to us, and the comfort-

able Prospect of transmitting them to Posterity; and considering, That the Welfare and Safety of these Nations, and of the Reformed Religion, both at Home and Abroad, do, next under God, depend upon the Preservation of his Majesty's Royal Person and Government; and that both before and since His Majesty's happy Accession, there has been, and still is, a restless, Popish and Jacobite Faction who have left no pernicious Contrivance unattempted, to impose upon us a Popish Pretender, tending to the utter Subversion and Destruction of our Laws and Liberties, and of every Thing that is dear to Us, as Men and Christians: And that we have at present certain Evidences, That there is on Foot a Design of an Invasion from Abroad, in Favour of the Pretender, while his Friends and Abettors at Home, are preparing to involve these Nations in Blood and Confusion, and wreath the Yoke of Popery and Slavery about our Necks: And being convinced, That it is our Duty, as good Protestant Subjects to contribute our Endeavours for preventing these malitious and fatal Attempts, We do, conform to the laudable Practice in former Times of imminent Danger, hereby mutually promise, and solemnly engage and oblige ourselves to stand by and assist one another, to the utmost of our Power, in the Support and Defence of His Majesty King George, our only Rightful Sovereign, and of the Protestant Succession, now happily established, against all open and secret Enemies, for the Preservation and Security of our Holy Religion, civil Liberties, and most excellent Constitution both in Church and State; and for that Effect, We bind and oblige ourselves upon the first Notice of the Pretender his Landing in any Part of Britain, or upon Advice of any Insurrection, or Appearance of his Friends and Abettors at Home, in a Hostile Manner, for the Support and Assistance of the said Pretender, when he shall land, That upon such Notice and Advice, we shall assemble and meet together with our best Arms and Furniture, whether for Foot or Horse Service according to our Stations and Abilities, at

and being there met, we oblige ourselves, to the best of our Power, to comply with, and obey such Orders, as we shall receive from the Government, for the supporting of His Majesty King George his Person and Government, and in Defence of our Sacred and Civil Liberties in Opposition to the Pretender and all his Abettors, for which End we enter into this Association. And this we promise to perform, as we desire to be looked upon as having any Regard to the Religious and Civil Concerns of our Country, the Peace and

Welfare of his Majesty's Goverment, and to ourselves and Posterity.

In Witness whereof, these Presents, concerted at *Edinburgh*, the First Day of *August*, 1715, being the First Day of the Second Year of the Auspicious Reign of our Sovereign Lord, *George*, of *Great-Britian*, *France* and *Ireland*, King, are subscribed by

The Circular Letter for animating the People to take Arms for Defence of His Majesty and the Constitution; read in Churches, &c.

Edinburgh, 1*st. August* 1715.

SIR,

THE Certainty of a designed Invasion, in Favour of a Popish Pretender to the Crown, being no longer doubted of, and the Danger thereby threatned, as well to His Sacred Majesty King George his Person and Government, as to all his good Subjects, in their dearest and most valuable Interests, being equally great; It comes to be the immediate Duty of all who have any sincere Regard to the true Protestant Religion, and the Civil Rights and Liberties of Mankind, to shew a zealous Concern for the Preservation of these invaluable Blessings, by exerting themselves to the utmost, in Defence of his Majesty's just Right and Title to the Crown, and vigorously opposing all Attempts that shall be made to disturb his Government. For these Ends, We his Majesty's faithful Subjects in and about this City, have, under the Countenance of those in Authority here, cheerfully and unanimously engaged ourselves in a Bond of Association, to assist and support one another, in Manner therein expressed: And being also sensible how proper it is to encourage and stimulate others to so necessary a Duty, we have thought fit to send a Copy of our foresaid Association to you, and many other Parishes in Scotland, who, we hope, from the same Motives contained in the Preamble of our Paper, will stir up themselves, in their several Stations, to act with such Resolution as becomes those who have their All at Stake. The Prize we contend for is Liberty, it is essential to our very Happiness, how can we possibly retain our religious and civil Rights, if we tamely submit to the Yoke, and part with our Liberty? Will not Life itself be a burden, if all that is dear to us, either as Men or Christians, shall thus be lost, past all Hopes of Recovery? This Consideration alone should rouze us from a fatal Security, and our Anxiety for Liberty, should daily increase in Proportion to our Danger which is visibly hastning upon us by the secret and open Attacks of the restless Enemies of

our Peace and Happiness: Is it not then seasonable and honest, thoroughly to consider our Circumstances, and to let our Enemies know, That we are upon our Guard. We do therefore perswade our selves, it will be the Business of every honest Man to look up with a Spirit, and do his utmost to maintain and defend our Excellent Constitution both in Church and State, the Sum of our present happy Condition, which by the Blessing of God, nothing can make desperate, but our own Sloth and Cowardice. Has not our good and gracious God hitherto made signal Appearances on our Behalf? Have not our Eyes seen the Salvation he hath wrought for us, Time after Time? Can we without Horror remember the unparallell'd Cruelties we met with, when a Popish Interest and Faction had the Ascendant? Can we forget the remarkable Deliverance God wrought for us, in breaking the Yoke of their Arbitrary and Tyrannical Government, by the Great King William, in the late glorious Revolution? Can we have forgot the Goodness of God, in defeating the last Attempt of this Nature, in such a Manner, as left no ground to doubt but that God did then appear on our Side? Or shall we ever cease to remember the seasonable and surprizing Interposition of Heaven, in bringing His present Majesty King George, to the quiet and peaceable Possession of the Throne of these Realms; and this at a Time when our Fears were so great. That nothing but a solid Perswasion of the Lord God his concerning himself for his own Interest, kept up our Spirit, and made us hope for Relief; Why should we then despond? The same Hand is not now shortned that it cannot save; the same God we trust in, is both able and willing to rescue us from the imminent Dangers that now threaten us, by the Insurrections of a Jacobite Faction, and an Invasion of a Pretender to the Crown, who has been educated in all the Maxims of Popish Bigotry and French Tyranny, and now comes against us with an Army of Irish Cut-throats, assisted (as we have no Reason to doubt) by the Grand Enemy to the Reformed Interest in Europe, who hath embrued his Hands so much in Protestant Blood. 'Tis therefore earnestly recommended to you, to further so good and necessary a Work, as you cannot but be convinced, the above mention'd Association must be at this Time. Court the present Opportunity, get all the honest Hands to it you can, and then appoint your Place of Rendezvous, that you may be in a readiness to come together, when you hear of a Landing. And let us have the Satisfaction to know what happy Progress you make from Time to Time in this Affair, addressing your Letters to the Secretary of our Society, who

by our Order subscribes this to you. In the mean Time, let us all be much imploy'd in fervent Prayer to God, That the great JEHOVAH, Lord of Heaven and Earth, may prosper and succeed all our Endeavours for the Preservation of our Peace, the Security of our Holy Religion and Civil Rights, and that this God may bless and preserve his Sacred Majesty King George, in his Royal Person and Government, and his Protestant Issue to latest Posterity. And to conclude, Let us be of good Courage and play the Men for our People; and the Cities of our God, and the Lord do that which seemeth him good. By special Order of the said Society.

St. James's, August 16.

The following ADDRESS has been presented to his Majesty since our former.

The Humble Address of the Chancellor, Masters, and Scholars of the University of Cambridge.

Most gracious Sovereign,

WE presume to appear in your Royal Presence to testifie our Zeal and Affection to your Person and Government, called to it by the just Concern we are under from the Danger which threatens your Majesty and your People, a Danger in which not only the present Age, but even the latest Posterity is deeply concerned; for the Liberty and establish'd Religion of *Britain*, as they have in your Majesty and your Family the best, so have they also, in all human Views, the last Support.

In these Circumstances we shou'd forget not only our Oaths and Obligations, but even our selves, and those who are dearest to us, should we not be forward to pay all due Allegiance to your Majesty; and those must break thro' all the Ties of natural Affection, who can now be guilty of the Crime of Treason. While we enjoyed the Blessing of our late excellent Princess (whose Memory will be ever dear and sacred to us) your Title to this Crown was always our Second Care, as your peaceable Enjoyment of it is now become our first; and we cheerfully embrace this Opportunity to declare to your Majesty what we have constantly profest, That we do acknowledge your Majesty for the only lawful and rightful King of these Realms; and that we will by all means suitable to our Station maintain and support the Title and Interest of your Majesty and your Family against all Opposers whatever.

As your Majesty has been so gracious as to promise that the Constitution in Church and State shall be the rule of your Government, an Assurance which has made a lasting Impression on our Minds; so we heartily wish that all your Subjects, led to a sense of their Duty by your Royal Example, may make the same Constitution the Rule of their Obedience. Such Consent is the natural Strength of Kingdoms, and wou'd defeat the Attempts and Hopes of all our Enemies: And for our selves (whatever Representations have been made to our Prejudice) we do assure your Majesty that we have and will so instruct the Youth committed to our Care, that in their dutiful Behaviour towards your Majesty, they may shew forth an Example of those Principles of Loyalty and Obedience, which this University, pursuing the Doctrines of our Church, has ever steadily maintained.

His Majesty's Most Gracious ANSWER.

'I Thank you for this Dutiful and Loyal Address. The Univer-
'sity may always depend upon my Favour and Encouragement.'

ON the 30th of August, the King came to the House of Lords and gave the Royal Assent to

An Act for raising Nine Hundred Ten Thousand Pounds for Publick Services, by Sale of Annuities after the Rate of Five Pounds *per Cent. per Annum*, redeemable by Parliament, *&c.*

An Act for encouraging all Superiors, Vassals, Landlords, and Tenants in Scotland, who do and shall continue in their Duty and Loyalty to his Majesty King George; and for discouraging all Superiors, Vassals, Landlords and Tenants there, who have been or shall be guilty of rebellious Practices against his said Majesty, *&c.*

All the Bills depending before both Houses of Parliament being ready for the Royal Assent, His Majesty came the 21st of September to the House of Peers with the usual Solemnity, and the Commons attending, Mr Speaker made the following Speech to his Majesty, upon presenting the several Money Bills, which then passed the Royal Assent.

Most Gracious Sovereign,

YOUR Majesty's most Dutiful and Loyal Subjects, the Knights, Citizens and Burgesses in Parliament Assembled, have now finished the Supplies granted to your Majesty for the Service of this present Year. Your Commons had much sooner offered these

Supplies to your Majesty, had not their Zeal for Your Majesty's Service, and the Duty they owe to their Country, led them into Enquiries which have drawn this Session to an unusual Length.

But your Commons could not see, without the utmost Indignation, the Glories of Her late Majesty's Reign tarnished by a Treacherous Cessation of Arms, the Faith of Treaties violated, that ancient Probity, for which the *English* Nation had been justly renowned throughout all Ages, exposed to Scorn and Contempt, and the Trade of the Kingdom given up by insidious and precarious Treaties of Commerce; whilst the People, amused with New Worlds explored, were contented to see the most advantagious Branches of their Commerce in *Europe*, lost or betray'd.

Such was the Condition of this Kingdom, when it pleased the Divine Providence to call your Majesty to the Throne of your Ancestors, under whose auspicious Reign your Commons with Pleasure behold the Glories of the *PLANTAGENETS* (Your Majesty's Royal Ancestors) revive; and have an unbounded Prospect of the Continuance of this Happiness, even to the latest Posterity, in a Race of Princes lineally descended from your Majesty.

And that nothing might be wanting on the Part of your Commons to Establish Your Majesty's Throne on solid and lasting Foundations, they have apply'd themselves with unwearied Diligence, to vindicate the Honour of the *British* Nation, and to restore a mutual Confidence between this Kingdom and its ancient and faithful Allies, by detecting the Authors of these pernicious Counsels, and the Actors in these Treacherous Designs, in order to bring them to Justice, by the Judgment of their Peers, according to the Law of the Land and the Usage of Parliament.

It was not to be expected, but that the Enemies to the Nation's Peace would use their utmost Endeavours to obstruct your Commons in these Enquiries; but despairing of any Success in the Representative Body of the Kingdom, they fomented Tumults among the Dregs of the People at home, and spirited up the Pretender to an Invasion from abroad; this gave your faithful Commons fresh Opportunities of showing their Affection to your Majesty's Person, and their Fidelity to your Government, by their unanimous Concurrence in granting such Supplies as were sufficient to disappoint the one, and by their passing such Laws as were necessary to suppress the other; and in every respect to express their Abhorrence of a Popish Pretender, concerning whom nothing remains unsuspected but his Bigotry to

Superstition, and his Hatred to our Holy Religion; For the Advancement of which your Majesty has express'd your pious Care, by recommending to your Commons the providing a Maintenance for the Ministers who are to Officiate in the new Churches; this your Commons readily comply'd with, trusting that the Prayers there offer'd to the Almighty, will bring down a Blessing on all your Majesty's Undertakings; and not doubting, but that the Doctrines there Taught will be a Means to secure the Quiet of your Kingdoms, and the Obedience of your People.

The Revenues set apart for the Uses of the Civil Government, your Commons found so much intangled with Mortgages and Anticipations, that what remained was far from being sufficient to Support the Honour and Dignity of the Crown; this your Commons took into serious Consideration, and being truly sensible that on your Majesty's Greatness the Happiness of your Subjects entirely depends; they have put the Civil Revenues into the same State, in which they were granted to your Majesty's glorious Predecessor, King William, of Immortal Memory; and thereby enabled your Majesty to make an ample Provision for the Prince of Wales, whose Heroick Virtues are the best Security of your Majesty's Throne; as his other Personal Endowments are the Joy of all your faithful Subjects.

I should but ill discharge the Trust reposed in me by the Commons, did I not lay before your Majesty with what Chearfulness they received your Majesty's Gracious Intentions for her Royal Highness the Princess, and with how much Readiness and Unanimity they enabled your Majesty, to settle a Revenue suitable to the Dignity of a Princess, whose Piety and steady Adherence to the Protestant Religion, is the Glory of this present Age, and will be the Admiration of all future Generations.

May it please your Majesty,

The Bills which the Commons have prepared to compleat the Supplies for this Year's Service, and for the other Purposes I have mentioned, are severally Entitled,

An Act to enable His Majesty to settle a Revenue for supporting the Dignity of Her Royal Highness in Case she shall survive His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales.

An Act for enlarging the Capital Stock and yearly Fund of the *South-Sea* Company, and for supplying thereby Eight Hundred Twenty Two Thousand Thirty Two Ponnds, Four Shillings and

Eight Pence to publick Uses, and for raising One Hundred Sixty Nine Thousand Pounds, for the like Uses, by Sale of Annuities upon divers Incouragements therein mentioned, and for appropriating several Supplies granted to his Majesty.

An Act for making Provision for the Ministers of the Fifty New Churches which are to be built in and about the Cities of *London* and *Westminster*, and Suburbs thereof, and for Rebuilding and Finishing the Parish Church of St. *Mary Woolnoth* in the said City of *London*.

Which they with all Humility now present to Your Majesty for Your Royal Assent.

To which, and some other Bills, His Majesty was pleas'd to give the Royal Assent.

His Majesty made afterwards the following most Gracious Speech to both Houses.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I Am perswaded you are all by this time very desirous of some Recess, and that it cannot be deferr'd longer without great Inconvenience to your private Affairs.

But before I can part with you, I must return you my most sincere Thanks for your having finished, with so much Wisdom and Unanimity, what I recommended to your Care; and particularly I must thank you, *Gentlemen of the House of Commons*, for the provision you have made, as well for the Support of the Honour and Dignity of the Crown as for the other necessary Occasions of the Publick, especially for your having done it by Means so little burthensome to my People, which I assure you recommends the Supplies to me above any other Circumstance whatsoever.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The open and declared Rebllion which is now actually begun in Scotland must convince all, who do not wish to see us given up into the Hands of a Popish Pretender of the Dangers to which we have been, and are still exposed. I thought it incumbent upon me to give you the earliest Notice of the Designs of our Enemies; and I cannot sufficiently commend the Zeal and Dispatch with which you impowered me, at a time when the Nation was in so naked and defenceless a Condition, to make such Preparations as I should think necessary for our Security. You shall have no Reason to repent of the

Trust and Confidence you repose in me, which I shall never use to any other End than for the Protection and Welfare of my People.

It was scarce to be imagined that any of my Protestant Subjects, who have known and enjoyed the Benefits of our excellent Constitution, and have heard of the great Dangers they were wonderfully delivered from by the happy Revolution, should by any Arts and Management be drawn into Measures that must at once destroy their Religion and Liberties, and subject them to Popery and Arbitrary Power. But such has been our Misfortune, that too many of my People have been deluded, and made instrumental to the Pretender's Designs, who had never dared to think of Invading us, or raising a Rebellion, had he not been encouraged by the Success his Emissaries and Adherents have already had in stirring up Riots and Tumults, and by the farther Hopes they entertain of raising Insurrections in many Parts of my Kingdoms.

The endeavouring to persuade my People that the Church of England is in Danger under my Government, has been the main Artifice employed in carrying on this Wicked and Traiterous Design. This Insinuation, after the solemn Assurances I have given, and my having laid hold on all Opportunities to do every thing that may tend to the Advantage of the Church of England, is both Unjust and Ungrateful; nor can I believe so groundless and malicious a Calumny can make any Impression upon the Minds of my faithful Subjects, or that they can be so far mis-led as to think the Church of England is to be secured by setting a Popish Pretender on the Throne.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The Proofs this Parliament has given of their unshaken Duty and Affection to me, and of their Love and Zeal for the Interest of their Country, will recommend you to the good Opinion and Esteem of all who have their Religion and Liberty truly at Heart, and has laid a lasting Obligation upon me: And I question not but by your farther Assistance in the several Countries to which you are going, with the Blessing of Almighty God, who has so frequently interposed in Favour of this Nation, I shall be able to Disappoint and Defeat the Designs of Our Enemies.

Our Meeting again to do Business early in the next Winter will be useful on many Accounts, particularly that the Sitting of Parliaments may be again brought into that Season of the Year which is most convenient, and that as little delay may be given as is possible to your Judicial Proceedings; and I shall at present give such Orders

to My Lord Chancellor, as may not put it out of My Power to meet you on any sudden Occasion.

Then the Lord Chancellor signified to both Houses his Majesty's Pleasure, that they should adjourn themselves to the 6th of October, which was done accordingly.

The same Day, viz. the 21st of September, the Lords Landsdown and Duplin were taken into Custody, as was also the 24th the Earl of Jersey, and Messengers were sent to apprehend Mr Edward Harvey, Senior, of Combs, Mr John Anstis, Sir William Wyndham. Sir John Packington, Mr Thomas Forster, and Mr Corbet Kynaston, Members of Parliament, his Majesty having sent a Message the 21st to the House, That he had just Cause to suspect that they were conspiring against his Government. The two former were taken, but Mr Harvey, after having been examined in Council, stabb'd himself on the 26th in the Morning with a Knife, in two or three parts of his Breast. The Wounds were reported to be mortal. This desperate Attempt of a Gentleman of a considerable Fortune upon his own Life, silenced the most impudent Enemies of our Constitution, and carry'd with it such convincing Proofs of the Plot which they endeavour'd to represent as imaginary, that they were forced to own as well as others, that that Gentleman would never have made that Attempt, unless he had been conscious of the horrid Things laid to his Charge, of which we have nothing yet but Reports too uncertain to be inserted in this Collection.

Sir William Wyndham was seized by a Messenger at his Country-Seat, but having made his Escape, a Proclamation came out the 23d for the apprehending of him, with a Reward of 1000 *l.*

This occasion'd a strict Search after him, but on the 4th of October he surrender'd himself, and on the 7th was committed to the Tower, as the Lord Landsdown had been some Days before, viz. the 26th of September. These and the Lord Powys, who was sent thither the 14th, are the only Persons who have been yet committed to the Tower. Sir John Packington, who was taken into Custody, was discharged few Days after.

Several other Persons have been taken up in London and other Parts, and a strict Search has been made after all disaffected Persons, insomuch, that there is reason to hope, that with the Blessings of God, the Horrid Designs of the Conspirators are defeated in England, and that the seizing of the chief Leaders of them, will so dis-

courage their Friends in North-Britain, that their Rebellion will be soon suppressed.

This leads us to the Consideration of the Proceedings of a Gentleman, who having heard that Luxemburgh was a great General, thought himself fit to command an Army, only because he had as large a Hunch on his Back, as that great Commander had. The Earl of Mar, this new Luxemburgh, as they stile him now in Scotland, had a Meeting the 3d of September at Aboyn, with other Rebels, and amongst them the Lord Drummond, Marquis Tullibardin, Marquis of Huntley, and the Earls Mareschals-Southesk, and Linlithgow, with several Gentlemen, where, at the pressing Instances of the Earl of Mar, it was resolved to draw together immediately all the Forces they could, and advance towards the South. The Earl of Mar caused accordingly the Pretender's Standard to be set up the 6th of the same Month, and he stiles himself in the Orders he gave, Lieutenant-General of the Pretender's Forces in Scotland.

On the 9th Instant, he publish'd the following Declaration, and sent it, together with a Letter to the Baily of Kildrumnie, which were both intercepted.

The Earl of Mar's *DECLARATION.*

OUR Rightful and Natural King James the 8th, by the Grace of God, who is now coming to relieve us from our Oppressions, having been pleased to intrust us with the Direction of his Affairs, and the Command of his Forces in this his ancient Kingdom of Scotland. And some of his faithful Subjects and Servants met at Aboyne, viz. The Lord Huntley, the Lord Tullibardine, the Earl Mareschal the Earl of Southesk, Glingary from the Clans, Glenderule from the Earl of Broadalbine, and Gentlemen of Argyleshire, Mr Patrick Lyon of Auchterhouse, the Laird of Auldbair, Lieutenant-General George Hamilton, Major-General Gordon and my self, having taken into our Consideration his Majesty's last and late Orders to us, find that as this is now the Time that he ordered us to appear openly in Arms for him, so it seems to us absolutely necessary for his Majesty's Service, and the relieving of our Native Country from all its Hardships, that all his faithful and loving Subjects and Lovers of their Country, should with all possible speed put themselves into Arms.

These are therefore in his Majesty's Name and Authority, and by

Vertue of the Power aforesaid, and by the King's special Order to me there'unt, to require and impower you forthwith to raise your fencible Men, with their best Arms, and you are immediately to march them to join me and some other of the King's Forces at the Invor of Bracmar, on Monday next, in order to proceed in our March to attend the King's Standard, with his other Forces.

The King intending that his Forces shall be paid from the time of their setting out, he expects as he positively orders, that they behave themselves civilly, and commit no Plundering nor other Disorders upon the highest Penalties and his Displeasure, which is expected you'll see observed.

Now is the Time for all good Men to show their Zeal for his Majesty's Service, whose Cause is so deeply concern'd, and the Relief of our Native Country from Oppression and a foreign Yoke too heavy for us and our Posterity to bear, and to endeavour the restoring not only of our rightful and native King, but also our Country to its ancient, free, and independent Constitution under him whose Ancestors have reigned over us for so many Generations.

In so honourable, good and just a Cause, we cannot doubt of the Assistance, Direction, and Blessing of Almighty God, who has so often rescued the Royal Family of Stuart, and our country from sinking under Oppression.

Your punctual Observance of these Orders is expected, for the doing of all which this shall be to you and all you employ in the Execution of them a sufficient Warrant.

Given at Braemar *the 9th of* Sept. 1715.

To the Baillie and the rest of the Gentlemen of the Lordship of Kildrumnie. MAR.

Invercauld, Sept. 9, at Night, 1715.

Jocke,

YE was in the right not to come with the 100 Men yc sent up to Night, when I expected Four times the Number; it is pretty thing when all the Highlands of Scotland are now rising upon their King and Countries account, as I have accounts from them since they were with me, and the Gentlemen of our Neighbouring Lowlands expecting us down to join them, that my Men should be only refractory, is not this the thing we are now about, which they have been wishing these Twenty six Years, and now when it is come

and the King and Countries Cause at stake, will they for ever sit still and see all perish.

I have used gentle means too long, and so I shall be forced to put other Orders I have in execution, I have sent you inclosed an Order for the Lordship of Kildrummy, which you are immediately to intimate to all my Vassals; if they give ready Obedience, it will make some amends, and if not ye may tell them from me, that it will not be in my power to save them (were I willing) from being treated as Enemies by those who are ready soon to join me, and they may depend on it that I will be the first to propose an order their being so. Particularly let my own Tenants in Kildrummy know, that if they come not forth with their best Arms, that I will send a Party immediately to burn what they shall miss taking from them, and they may believe this not only a Threat, but by all that's Sacred I'll put it in execution, let my loss be what it will, that it may be Example to others, you are to tell the Gentlemen that I'll expect them in their best Accoutrements on Horseback and no Excuse to be accepted of, go about this with all diligence, and come your self and let me know your having done so, all this is not only as ye will be answerable to me, but to your King and Country.

Your assured Friend and Servant,

To John Forbes *of* Increrau,
Baillie of Kildrummie. *Sic Subscribitur* Mar.

To give the Reader a further Character of the Earl of Mar, and shew how despicable Men of his Principles ought to be, to all such who have retained any Sense of Religion and Honour, we shall insert here the Letter he wrote to the King before his Majesty's Arrival, with this further Observation, that he has on the most solemn Occasions renewed the Assurances of Zeal and Fidelity, as are contained in his Letter.

SIR,

HAVING the Happiness to be Your Majesties Subject, and also the Honour of being one of your Servants, as one of your Secretaries of State, I beg leave by this to kiss Your Majesties Hand, and congratulate your happy Accession to the Throne, which I would have done myself the Honour of doing sooner, had I not hop'd to have had the Honour of doing it personally e'er now.

I am afraid I have had the Misfortune of being misrepresented to

your Majesty, and my Reason for thinking so, is, because I was, I believe, the only one of the late Queen's Servants, who your Ministers here did not visit, which I mention'd to Mr Harley, and the Earl of Clarendon, when they went from hence to wait on Your Majesty, and your Ministers carrying so to Me, was the Occasion of my receiving such Orders, as depriv'd me of the Honour and Satisfaction of waiting on them, and being known to them.

I suppose I had been misrepresented to them by some here upon Account of Party, or to ingratiate themselves by aspersing others, as our Parties here too often occasion: But I hope Your Majesty will be so just as not to give Credit to such Misrepresentations.

The part I acted in the bringing about and making of the Union, when the Succession to the Crown was settled for Scotland on Your Majesties Family, where I had the Honour to serve as Secretary of State for that Kingdom, doth I hope, put my Sincerity and Faithfulness to Your Majesty out of Dispute.

My Family hath had the Honour for a great Tract of Years to be faithful Servants to the Crown, and have had the Care of the Kings Children (when Kings of Scotland) intrusted to them. A Predecessor of mine was honoured with the Care of Your Majesty's Grand-Mother when young; and she was pleased afterwards to express some Concern for our Family in Letters which I still have under her own Hand.

I have had the Honour to serve Her late Majesty in one Capacity or other ever since Her Accession to the Crown. I was happy in a good Mistress, and she was pleased to have some Confidence in me, and Regard for my Services: And since Your Majesty's happy Accession to the Crown, I hope You will find that I have not been wanting in my Duty in being instrumental in keeping Things quiet and peaceable in the Country to which I belong, and have some Interest in.

Your Majesty shall ever find me as faithful and dutiful a Subject and Servant as ever any of my Family have been to the Crown, or as I have been to my late Mistress the Queen, And I beg Your Majesty may be so good not to believe any Misrepresentation of me, which nothing but Party Hatred and my Zeal for the Interest of the Crown doth occasion; and I hope I may presume to lay Claim to Your Royal Favour or Protection.

As Your Accession to the Crown hath been quiet and peaceable, may Your Majesty's Reign be long and prosperous, and that Your

People may soon have the Happiness and Satisfaction of Your Presence amongst them, is the earnest and fervent Wishes of him who is with the humblest Duty and Respect,

S I R,

Your Majesty's most Faithful, and Dutiful,
And most Obedient Subject and Servant,
M A R.

Whitehall, Aug. 30.
O. S. 1714.

While the Rebels were thus openly preparing to act against their Sovereign, they formed a Conspiracy to surprize the Castle of Edinburgh, which was to be executed in the Night on the 8th of September, but was happily prevented by the Care and Vigilance of the General. The Design was to mount the Wall on the West Side of the Castle by Rope Ladders, which were to be pull'd up by Lines let down from within by some Soldiers belonging to the Garrison who had been corrupted. The Conspirators did accordingly rendesvouze at the Foot of the Castle Wall at the Time appointed, a Rope was let down and fix'd to one of the Ladders; but the Government having had some Intimations of this Design, had order'd part of the Life-Guard, and some Gentlemen Volunteers, to patroul on the West-side of the Castle, and the Officers within to double their Guards, and make diligent Rounds. Accordingly Lieutenant Lindsey, as he was going the Round, found one of the Soldiers, who had been debauch'd, actually drawing up the ladder in order to fix it to the Top of the Wall, upon which he order'd the Sentinel near him to fire, which giving the Alarm, the Conspirators fled and dispers'd; but the Life-Guard and Gentlemen afore-mention'd coming up, met and secur'd one Captain Maclean, who had been formerly an Officer under Dundee, with Three others of the Party. They likewise found the Ladders, and about a Dozen Firelocks, which the Conspirators had thrown away, the better to make their Escape. Three of the Soldiers of the Garrison were also secur'd. By the Confession of the Persons seiz'd, it appears that there was about 80 engag'd in this Design, which was very near taking effect.

The Duke of Argyle being arriv'd at Edinburgh the 15th, inquir'd into the Conduct of Colonel Stuart, Lieutenant-Governor of the Castle, and thought fit to appoint Brigadeer Grant to Command therein till the Arrival of Brigadeer Preston, who on the 22d took Possession of the Castle as Deputy-Governor, in the room of Colonel Stuart, who the same Day was committed Prisoner to the Tolbooth, but few Days after admitted to Bail.

The Duke of Argyle set out the 17th for the Camp at Sterling, where he had, by the latter end of September, Four Regiments of Dragoons, and as many of Foot, computing Evan's Dragoons, and Four Regiments of Horse from Ireland. The former has since joyn'd his Grace, who having posted his Troops in the Port of Sterling, and 1000 Men of the Militia in the Town, is able to defend that Pass against all the Rebels. The Lords Lieutenants of the Southern Counties were preparing to march with the Militia to reinforce his Grace, but he signify'd unto them, that he had no Occasion as yet for such Reinforcements, desiring them to continue in their respective Shires, and exercise their Forces, to be in a readiness to march in case of need. The Duke of Argyle has been joyn'd by a great many Persons of Quality and Volunteers.

The Rebels have not yet assembl'd, but one of their Parties has surpriz'd Perth, a defenceless Place, where they have had the Insolence to proclaim the Pretender, as they had done in some other Places. As our Accounts from Scotland are very imperfect, we shall forbear any Remarks thereupon till we are better inform'd; but in the mean time we shall take notice, that some Letters say, That the Rebels are in great Consternation upon the Advice they receiv'd of the Seizing of several of their Friends in England, who doubtless were to act in concert with them, of which we are not to entertain any Doubt, seeing the Proclamation for seizing Sir William Windham, imparts in express Terms, that by the Papers found in his Custody, at the Time he was apprehended, it manifestly appears, that he has enter'd into a most horrid and treacherous Conspiracy, not only for the Incouragement of the Rebellion now carrying on in his Majesty's Kingdoms, in favour of the Pretender, but also for the abetting and promoting an intended Invasion of the same Kingdoms.

The several Orders and Precautions taken for defeating the Designs of the Rebels and Conspirators, would be too long to enumerate, and so we shall content our selves to observe, That nothing is omitted that may contribute to our Security, and that the Vigilance of the Ministers cannot be too much commended, which ought to dissipate all foolish Apprehensions. As it has been observ'd, that a great many Papists, and other suspected and unaccountable Persons, have lately appear'd in Westminster, the Lieutenancy, by Order of the Council, have made a diligent Search after them, sent a great many Papists and Non-jurors to Newgate, requir'd Security for others, seiz'd their Arms and Horses; and in short, executed their Orders

with so much Prudence, Zeal, and Dispatch that they deserve the Publick Thanks.

The Foot and Horse Guards continue encamp'd in Hyde-Park, and as the Season of the Year begins to be hard, they are building Stables for the Horses, and covering the Tents with Straw, from whence 'tis conjectur'd, that those Troops will continue encamp'd there, 'till the Designs of the Conspirators are fully discover'd, and their Chief Leaders brought to the Punishment they so justly deserve by their Conspiration against the Best of Kings, as well as the Best Government that ever was.

It is not the Nature of this Collection to take notice of the various Reports we have had of the Designs of the Conspirators, for nothing having been made Publick but what has been said from the Throne, and in the Proclamation for seizing Sir William Windham, we should think it to trifle with our Readers to entertain them with bare Speculations and Conjectures.

Mean time his Majesty receives fresh Assurances of the Fidelity of his People from all Parts, and we wish that the Bounds of this Book would permit us to insert the Loyal Addresses that are presented on this Occasion, which contain the plainest and strongest Assurances that can ever be given of Zeal, Affection, and Fidelity. But amongst these Loyal Addresses, we cannot forbear to take notice of the following.

To the K I N G's Most Excellent Majesty.

The Humble Address *of the Protestant Dissenting Ministers of the several Denominations in and about the Cities of* London *and* Westminster.

May it please your Majesty,

WE your Majesty's most loyal Subjects think ourselves obliged in Duty and Gratitude humbly to acknowledge that seasonable Protection which your Majesty has been pleas'd to give to those of our Persuasion, from the late Rebellious Tumults, and for your gracious Answer to the Address of your faithful Commons, wherein they desire that a full Compensation be made to those whose Sufferings they so justly impute to their Zeal and firm Adherence to your Majesty and your Government.

We can assure your Majesty, that no just Occasion has been given by us to our Fellow Subjects for any such Treatment; nor can the

Principles which oblige us to dissent from the Church of *England*, be a reasonable Provocation to any who have the least regard to the Common Rights of Mankind or the Rules of the Christian Religion.

We desire nothing more than to enjoy our Civil Rights, with a just Liberty to profess our own Religious Sentiments, which we take to be a Privilege due to all men. We have been always ready to assist the Church of *England*, in the defence of the Protestant Religion, when in real and imminent Danger; being agreed with them, and all Protestant Churches, in those Principles that began the Reformation; and which alone can justifie and support it.

When there has been a Design to introduce Popery and Arbitrary Power the Protestant Dissenters have generally been first attack'd; nor know we any other Reason why we have now suffer'd the Outrage of Papists, Nonjurors, and other dissafected Persons, but that they were sure we were a Body of Men fix'd in our Duty to your Majesty, and lay the most expos'd to popular Insults, against which your Majesty and your two Houses of Parliament in your great Wisdom and Goodness have given us a seasonable, and we hope effectual Security for Time to come.

Whilst your Majesty's Government is disturb'd at home, and threatned with an Invasion from abroad, we can answer for those of our Persuasion, that there are not any of them whose Principles and Inclinations will not influence them to assist and support your Majesty and the Protestant Religion to the utmost of their Power; we look upon our selves bound by the strongest Ties of Duty, Gratitude and Interest, to acknowledge and maintain your Majesty's undoubted Right and Title to the Imperial Crown of these Realms, and to declare our utmost Abhorrence of all Attempts either at home or abroad in favour of a Popish Pretender.

May that gracious Providence that has so signally appear'd in bringing your Majesty to the Throne of these Kingdoms, continue to protect and defend your Royal Person and Family, against all Attempts of your open and secret Enemies.

His Majesty's most Gracious A N S W E R.

'I Am very much concern'd at the unchristian and barbarous 'Treatment, which those of your Persuasion have met with in 'several Parts of My Kingdom, and Care shall be taken that a full 'Compensation be made to them for their Sufferings.

'I thank you for this Dutiful and Loyal Address, and you may be 'assured of my Protection.'

His Majesty has been pleased to purchase the large and curious Library of Dr Moor, the late Bishop of Ely, and give it to the University of Cambridge, they presented the 29th of September the following Address of Thanks to his Majesty at St. James's.

To the KING's most Excellent Majesty.

The Humble ADDRESS of Thanks from the Chancellor, Masters and Scholars of the University of Cambridge.

Most gracious Sovereign,

WE beg leave to approach your Majesty with our most humble Thanks for the gracious Mark of Royal Favour which your Majesty has bestowed on your Ancient University of Cambridge.

There never was an Occasion when we were either more desirous to express our Sentiments of Gratitude, or less able to do it to our own Satisfaction. The Genius of Learning which has for many Ages so happily presided in this Place, cannot furnish us with Language to utter what we feel. There is nothing to which even the Wishes of your University extend that is not fully contained in the Happiness she now enjoys of calling your Majesty her King and her Patron; One is the Common Blessing of every Britain, the other the peculiar Privilege of the Sons of Learning.

The noble Collection of Books and Manuscripts gathered in many Years by the great Industry and accurate Judgment of the late Bishop of Ely, tho' in itself exceedingly valuable, is upon no Account so welcome to your University, as that it is a Testimony of your Royal Favour: The Memory of which will be constantly preserv'd by this ample Benefaction, worthy to bear the Title of the Donor, and to be for ever styled *THE ROYAL LIBRARY.*

Liberty and Learning are so united in their Fortunes, that your Majesty's known Character, of being the Great Protector of the Liberty of Europe, led us to expect what our Experience has now confirmed, that you would soon appear the Patron and Encourager of Learning. Such Royal Qualities must necessarily produce the proper Returns of Duty and Affection: Your University will endeavour, as she is bound to do by the strongest Tyes of Interest and Gratitude, to promote the Happiness of your Government. And 'tis with the greatest Pleasure she observes, that some there are whose

Youth was formed under her Care, of whose Abilities and Fidelity your Majesty has had the fullest Experience.

Your Royal Progenitors, the Kings and Queens of England, moved by their Regard to Vertue and Learning, have conferr'd many large Privileges and Donations on this Place; those who shine with the greatest Lustre in Story, appear the Foremost in the List of our Patrons and Benefactors: And as your Majesty's great Name will be an Ornament in the Annals of Britain, so shall it stand thro' Ages to come a perpetual Honour to the Records of this University.

It shall be our incessant Prayer to God for your Majesty, that he would long preserve you to Reign over us in Peace and Tranquility, that he would extend your Empire over the Hearts of your Subjects, a Dominion for which he then designed you, when he adorned you with so much Goodness and Clemency.

To which his Majesty was pleased to make the following most gracious A N S W E R.

'IT is a great Satisfaction to me that this first Mark of my Favour 'has been so welcome and agreeable to you. The dutiful and 'grateful Manner in which you have expressed your Thanks upon 'this Occasion, will oblige me to take all Opportunities of giving 'farther Proofs of my Affection to my University of Cambridge, 'being very sensible how much the Encouragement of Learning will 'always tend to the Security and Honour of our Constitution both in 'Church and State.'

On the 6th Instant, Monsieur d' Ibervile, Envoy Extraordinary of France, had a private Audience of his Majesty, wherein he notify'd the Death of King Lewis XIV. and the Accession of King Lewis XV. to the Crown: and at the same time delivered two Letters to his Majesty, one from the new King, and another from the Duke of Orleans, as Regent of France.

Upon a Representation of the Earl of Stairs, the Duke of Orleans has ordered 4 or 5 Ships that had been fitted out at Havre de Grace, and had Arms and Ammunition on board, design'd for Scotland, to be stopt, and the Arms and Ammunition to be unladed. That Prince has sent Orders to all the Ports of France, to suffer no Ships which shall have any Arms or Ammunition on board, to sail from thence without his Pass, that it may be certainly known what Place they are bound to.

His Majesty has appointed the Earl of Stairs His Ambassador Extraordinary to the Court of France. Lieutenant General Cadogan to be Governour and Captain of the Isle of Wight. And, The Earl of Derby to be Captain of the Yeomen of the Guard.

Sir Charles Peers is chosen Lord Mayor of London for the Year ensuing.

"INTER FOLIA FRUCTUS."

THE REBELLION OF 1715.

THE STORM:

BEING

A CONTEMPORARY ACCOUNT

OF

THE REBELLION.

"History is but the unrolled scroll of Prophecy."
JAMES A. GARFIELD.

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THE REBELLION OF 1715.

THE STORM.

WE gave the Reader an Account in our last *Mercury* of the Insurrection and Rebellion in Scotland, and of the Declaration of the General of the Rebels, and now we are to speak of his Proceedings, and of the Rebellion broke out in England, headed by another experienced Commander, I mean the worshipful Mr. Thomas Forster, assisted by the Experience of the Lords Derwentwater, and Widdrington, and some other Popish Gentlemen, who have taken up Arms against their Sovereign in Defence of the Church of England, as they pretend; and have found Means to make some People believe that monstrous Absurdity, and that the Protestant Church of England cannot be secur'd but by a Popish Prince. Strange Infatuation and Delusion! Which, as it is not to be accounted for, must be look'd upon as a Curse! But before we proceed to the Hostilities committed since our former, we think fit, as the Rebellion broke out in Scotland, to insert here the two following Warnings or Admonitions given by the Synods of Glascow and Perth, to the Congregations committed to their Care, in order to incourage them to discharge their Duties to God, their Country, and their Consciences. The other Synods have made the like Exhortations; but the Bounds of this Collection cannot allow us to insert any more, and after having observed, that they tend all to the same Effect, we shall content our selves to insert the two following.

An ADMONITION by the Synod of Glascow *and* Air, *at* Glascow, October 5. 1715.

Dearly Beloved,

WE being met together in Synod, at a time when a most horrid Rebellion against the Person and Government of our most Gracious and Rightful Sovereign King George, is actually com-

menced and carried on, reckon it our indispensible Duty as Watchmen, to give seasonable and faithful Warning of the utter Ruine our holy Religion and valuable Liberties are threatned with.

The very Character of our Enemies, which cannot be unknown to you, gives all Ground to look for the greatest Mischiefs that can happen to a Protestant and free People, they being Men of Arbitrary Principles, ascribing such a Prerogative, even to their Popish Idol, as renders all that is or can be, dear to Men and Christians, Precarious: Many even of their chief Leaders are bigotted Papists, to whom it is a Principle to extirpate the Protestant Faith, which they call the Northern Heresy: Others of them are guilty of notorious Treachery and Perjury; to say nothing of their seemingly Zealous concurring in his Majesty's being proclaimed King, they have frequently, in the most solemn manner, Abjured the Pretender whom they now appear for, and have sworn Allegiance to his present Majesty, and likewise bound themselves by repeated Oaths to maintain the Protestant Succession in his Family; they were also most active in all the late Measures for ruining the Reformation, and endangering the Liberties of Europe, weakening the Protestant Succession, and laying us in this Church, as well as all the firm Friends of the said Succession, under the greatest Hardships; yea, it is undoubtedly evident they are open and declared Enemies to our Constitution, as inconsistent with their Tyrannical Schemes, and are ready to re-act all the Villanies and Barbarities of the late Times of horrid Persecution, in which some of them had a bloody Share.

As for the Design itself, it is so wicked and black, as nothing can disguise it to an honest Protestant; to dethrone our Gracious and Rightful Sovereign, whose Government is limited by Law, who has never injured even the most ungrateful of his Subjects, if it be not by his declared Zeal for Religion and Liberty, and whose Ancestors have been eminently distinguish'd by their Sufferings for the Protestant Cause; and at the same time to set over us the Popish Pretender, educated and confirmed in all the Principles of Popish Bigotry, Persecution and Tyranny, pretending to Rule by Hereditary and Indefeazable Right, which are Projects that can only be the Effect of an Hellish Plot to impose again upon these Nations the Yoak of Slavery, and to re-introduce the Idolatry, Tyranny, and other Abominations inseparable from the Church of Rome.

Can anything below Infatuation itself expect any Security, or rather anything less than utter Destruction, to all our precious

Interests, whatever the Promises or Declarations are, or may be made to the contrary, from one, who from his Youth hath been taught to abhor, and endeavour to root out what is and should be dearest to us, and who, according to Romish Principles, must do so as he would not be damned?

We hope the Rebels Pretence for making us easie as to the Grievances of the Union, can never take with thinking People, who consider, that some of the chief Leaders were principal Contrivers and Promoters of it: And when Essays were made to have Redress in a Parliamentary way, so as the Protestant Succession might be secured, they themselves defeated the Design. And it is notorious from their Conduct, that the great thing in the Union grievous to them, is the Establishment of the Protestant Succession in his Majesty's Family, upon which the Security of all our valuable Rights depends.

Wherefore we find ourselves obliged from Conscience of our Duty to God and you, to beseech and obtest, yea to charge you in the Name of our Lord Jesus Christ, to search and try your Ways, and humble yourselves greatly for the many aggravated Sins of these Nations, which have brought all this Evil upon us, to apply to the Blood of Christ for Peace with our offended God; and to turn again to the Lord, from whom we have deeply revolted; and to lift up your Hearts with your Hands to God in the Heavens, that he may judge betwixt us and our Enemies, plead the Cause which is his own, and not give up his Heritage to Reproach.

And further, we declare it to be your Duty before God, to which you lye under the strongest Tyes, to put your selves in Condition to make a Stand for all these great Interests now at Stake, and give all necessary Aid and Assistance to his Majesty, and those imployed by him, and to exert your selves with the utmost Zeal, Vigour and Faithfulness that that most important Concern and Glorious Cause can demand.

All which we earnestly require, as you would escape the Curse of Meroz, which stands branded with Infamy, for not coming out to help the Lord against the Mighty; as you would shew a just Regard for our Reformation Rights, the Doctrine, Worship, Discipline, and Government of this Church, which our Fathers, at the expence of so much Wrestling and Blood, have transmitted to us, and testify Compassion and Faithfulness to Posterity, and as you would not suffer these Nations to become a Tool to Antichrist, to enslave all the Churches of Christ.

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It is equally observable and encouraging, That the same God who signally appeared for these valuable Interests in the Days of our Fathers, hath of late so seasonably interposed by a Train of Wonders on the behalf of this Cause, and such a continued disconcerting the Measures of our Enemies as may force an Acknowledgement that his Hand is against them; and shows plainly that God is for us, so that we cannot doubt that in this Juncture you will be of good Courage, play the Men for our People, and for the Cities of our God, and the Lord do what seemeth him good. The Synod appoints this to be intimated from the Pulpits next Lord's Day by all the Ministers of the Synod.

Extract. by *John Lockheart*, Cl. Syn.

Warning by the Synod of Perth *and* Stirling, *to Persons of all Ranks in their several Congregations under their Inspection.*

Dearly Beloved in our Lord,

WE the Ministers and Elders of this Province of Perth and Stirling, being now met together in Synod, and being under the deepest Impressions of the danger of our holy Religion, our Liberties Sacred and Civil, by the seditious and rebellious Insurrection of a Sett of Men, espousing the Interest of a Popish Pretender, opposing the Kingdom and Interest of our Lord Jesus Christ, declaring themselves Enemies to our only lawful and rightful Sovereign King George, and to the Protestant Succession, threatning us with utter Ruin and Desolation, who are not ashamed blasphemously to alledge Divine Warrant for their horrid Practices, and presumptuously to call in Divine Assistance to their abominable Attempts: We cannot therefore but from sense of Duty to God, Faithfulness to you, for the exoneration of our own Consciences, and that we may transmit a Testimony of our Integrity to Posterity, give you this seasonable admonition.

We do then, in the bowels of our Lord and only Saviour Jesus Christ, beseech and obtest you seriously to consider, who they are that have now risen up to the Disturbance of our Peace, and Overthrow both of our Church and State; even men of arbitrary and enslaving Principles, whereof some were active in the late Measures for ruining our glorious Reformation; many of whom, tho' they have, in the most solemn manner, abjur'd the Popish Pretender for whom they now appear, sworn Allegiance to our gracious Sovereign whom they now oppose, profess themselves zealous for his being proclaimed King of

these Realms, yet now have proclaimed another, and own his pre tended Authority, and have by repeated Oaths bound themselves in the Sight of God, and before the World, to maintain the Succession in King George's Royal Family, which they now endeavour to overturn; yea, many of their Chief Leaders among them are most bigoted Papists, whose Inclinations lead, and Principles necessarily oblige them, to extirpate the Protestant Faith, which they falsly and blasphemously call the Northern Heresie; Men whose Schemes are inconsistent with true Liberty, and whose dispositions make them fit Instruments for promoting a Popish Interest, and re-acting all the barbarous Cruelties that have been committed in the Times of most horrid Persecution.

It is also manifest, That the Designs of these Men so principl'd, and of such a Spirit, are to deprive us of the Glorious Gospel of Christ, Dethrone our gracious and only lawful Sovereign, who consults nothing so much as the Good of all his Subjects, and has never given the least Shadow of Ground to the most unnatural of them for their present perfidious Practices, unless his declared Zeal for Religion and Liberty, the Appearance and Suffering of his glorious Ancestors for a Protestant Cause, be by them reckoned a Crime; and in the mean Time they aim at nothing less, than setting over us a Popish Pretender, educated and confirmed in all the Principles of Popish Bigotry, Persecution and Tyranny, under the greatest Obligations to advance the Interest of Rome, and consequently must unavoidably deprive us of every Thing dear to us as Men and Christians: So that if we are not under the greatest Infatuation, we can expect nothing, should these Men obtain their End, but the Destruction of our most valuable Interests, and the most horrid Inhumanities and Persecutions; and of this, the desolate and ruinous Condition of a great Part of this Province, and other Places, is a visible and lamentable Instance.

And tho' they endeavour to cover these their Black and Antichristian Designs, with specious Pretences of dissolving the Union, and fair Promises of Security to our Interests; yet these being meer Amusements to ensnare People, we cannot but firmly hope, That no thinking Person, or honest hearted Protestant, will be so far impos'd upon by these, as to give Credit to the Assurances of Men, amongst whom there are many, whose Principles bind them to keep no Faith with Protestants, and whose Methods, to carry on their dark Conspiracies and fatal Aims are repeated Perjuries, speaking evil of

Dignities, illegal and arbitrary Impositions upon civil Estates, by demanding all manner of exorbitant Supplies, even while they deceitfully give out to ease us of our Taxes, and usurping Commands upon sacred Offices, by requiring Ministers, That they neither preach nor pray against them, and their pretended King.

We do therefore, with the greatest Earnestness, beseech you, as you regard the Glory of God, the Advancement of the Mediator's Kingdom, your own, and Posterities Happiness, the good of Protestant Churches abroad, the Obligations that lie upon all of us, by our solemn and National Covenants, the Duty you owe unto the best of Kings; and as you would prevent the greatest Judgments and blackest Reproaches, that you would make Conscience of searching and trying your Ways, be deeply humbled in the sight of God, upon the Account of our many aggravated Sins, especially our Contempt of the Gospel, whereby the Lord has been provoked to threaten these Evils against us; that you would sincerely, and without Delay, fly to the Lord Jesus Christ our great Attonement, for Pardon, and in him return to the Lord our God; that you would frequently and fervently pour out your Souls before the Lord, in the Name of Jesus Christ, That he may avert threatned Judgments, continue with us and our Posterity our most valuable Mercies, bless and preserve his Majesty King George, the Prince and Princess of Wales, and their Royal issue, that the Lord would go forth with our Armies, and remarkably direct and own them that have the Command thereof, and graciously arise and scatter all His and our Enemies.

And Finally, we reckon it our Duty before the Lord, to exhort and call you, that you would with the utmost Care, guard against joining with, or giving Countenance and Encouragement any manner of way to these our declared Enemies, but with the utmost Zeal, Vigour and Faithfulness, exert your selves in appearing heartily against them, and for all our great Interests and Concerns that are now at Stake, and in giving all necessary and called for Aid to his Majesty, and thos employed by him, committing the Management and Issue to our good and gracious God who hath hitherto so wonderfully appeared in our Behalf, breaking our Enemies Measures, and disappointing their Designs. And the Synod appoints this Act to be read in the several Congregations within their Bounds by all the Ministers, as they shall have access.

Done at Sterling *the 13th Day of* October, *One Thousand Seven Hundred and Fifteen Years.*

ANDREW BURGH, *Moderator.*

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Before we proceed in our Account of the Rebellion in Scotland, we must take notice of an Insurrection in the North of England, in concert with the Earl of Mar and other Scotch Rebels. Mr Forster, Member of Parliament for Northumberland, who was ordered to be taken up, as we told you in our former, having assembled his Friends, and the Popish Lords Derwentwater and Widdrington having done the like, they appeared at the beginning of this month at Alnwick, within few miles of Newcastle, to the Number of about 300 Men, and caused the Pretender to be proclaimed. Their Design was to have seized New-Castle, but were prevented by the Diligence of the Magistrates and Deputy-Lieutenants, who took up Arms, barricaded the Gates, and made other Preparations for its Defence, insomuch, that the Rebels did not think it fit to attempt to attack that Town. The Government having early Notice of this Insurrection, order'd Sir Charles Hotham's Regiment of Foot to march to New-Castle, with the Regiments of Dragoons of Churchil, Molesworth and Cobham, and Lieutenant-General Carpenter was sent post to command those Troops, by which Measures and Expedition the Designs of the Rebels were disappointed.

Mr Forster, who stiles himself General of the Forces of the Pretender, engaged one Lancelot Errington in a Design to surprize the Castle of Holy Island, which he did the 10th of October, being assisted therein by several other Rebels, but the Commander of Berwick having detach'd 30 Men of his Garrison with 50 Volunteers, retook the Castle, and Errington, who was shot in the Thigh, was made Prisoner, with several of his Accomplices.

The Rebels retired then to Wakeworth, Felton and Hexham plundering the Country, and taking Horses and Arms from the People, where they expected the Conjunction of the Scotch Rebels, who made a bold Attempt at that time to joyn them, of which the following letter from Edinburgh gives a full Account.

Edinburgh, October 16.

IN the Night between the 12th and 13th Instant, about 1500 of the Rebels passed over from Fife in Boats, and landed at Gullon, North-Berwick, Aberlady, and other Places. The Frigates lying in the Fryth, could not fall down time enough to intercept them, but a large Boat which had been manned out from Leith fell in amongst them, and took one Boat with above 40 Highlanders. On the 13th about Noon, the Rebels entered Hadington. That Night the

Marquis of Twedale, Lord Belhaven, and divers Gentlemen, with a good Number of Horse, and the greatest part of the Militia of East Lothian, came into this Town. On the 14th, the Rebels advanced from Hadington towards this Place, and about 6 o'Clock in the Evening came within less than a Mile of it; but hearing the Gates were shut, and that all were in Arms to defend them, and to prevent their scaling the Walls, they filed off to Leith, which being an open Place, they entered it about 8 at Night, designing to make us a Visit the next Morning.

Upon the first Intelligence which the Duke of Argyle had of their being landed, and on their March to Hadington, his Grace immediately sent a Detachment of Dragoons to Linlithgow, which is situate half way between this Place and Sterling, till he knew what Route the Rebels would take: But as soon as he heard that they were on the way hither, he marched from Sterling with another Detachment of Dragoons, and a Party of Foot, mounted for Expedition on Horses furnished by the Country People, using such Diligence, that with them and with the Detachment which was at Linlithgow, he came hither Yesterday Morning between one and two a Clock, and was joined by the Horse-Militia of this County, and of Hadington and the Mers, and with Numbers of Volunteers, both Horse and Foot. The Rebels being informed of this, left the South-part of Leith, and pass'd by a Bridge to the North part of that Town, where is an old Fortification called the Citadel: They placed two Ship-Guns on the Bridge, carried some Meal from the Town into the Citadel, and worked hard in casting up an Intrenchment on the Land-side. The Duke of Argyle having let the Troops take a little Refreshment after so long a Journey, marched with them and the Militia and Volunteers to Leith; where, seeing that the Rebels could not be fallen upon immediately without very great disadvantage, he returned hither, and caused the necessary Preparations to be made for speedily attacking them with Cannon; but the middle of last Night the Rebels taking the Opportunity of the low Ebb, marched by the Sands Eastward. His Grace has ordered out some Parties of Horse to observe their Motion. They cannot March far, being all Foot, and much fatigued. 'Tis thought they are gone to Seton-House, a Seat of the Earl of Winton's, which is large and walled.

The Rebels made no long Stay at Seton-House, for they marched directly towards England to join the English Rebels, of which we have the following account.

Edinburgh, October 19.

THE Rebels having quitted the Citadel of Leith on Sunday Morning, marched to Seton-House, in such Disorder, that some Horse being sent out after them, took several Prisoners and picked up many Deserters. The same Day his Grace the Duke of Argyle receiving Advice that the Earl of Mar and the Rebels with him were marching from Perth, he returned on Monday to Sterling to observe their Motions; leaving 100 Dragoons and a like Number of Foot of those which had been detached from Sterling, under the Command of Major-General Wightman, to join with the Volunteers and Militia for the Security of this Place. The Rebels continued at Seton-House till this Morning, when they marched towards the South. Letters from Fife relate, that the Parties sent out by the Earl of Mar had committed great Disorders in that Shire; particularly that a Party went to Lesly the chief Seat of the Earl of Rothes, where, after searching the House for Arms, they forced open the Church-Doors, and finding no Arms there, they broke into the Burial Place of the Family of Rothes, and digging up the Ground, tore open the Coffins in the most barbarous manner.

The Rebels arriv'd the 21st, at Night, at Duns, within Ten Miles of Berwick; but before we proceed to give a further Account of their Motions, it will not be improper to insert here the Two following letters of the Earl of Mar, which explains the Reasons of the Motions of Mackintosh, and discover that that General thought him guilty of a great Mistake in marching to Leith, instead of Proceeding directly to the Borders of England. One of them was written to the Lord Kenmuir, and the other to Mr. Forster.

My LORD,

I Long extreamly to hear from you, you may be sure, since I have not had the least Accounts almost of your Motions, since I sent the Detachment over. I hope all is pretty Right again, but it was an unlucky Mistake of Brigadier Mackintosh, in marching from Haddington to Leith. I cannot but say, though that it was odd your Lordship sent no Orders or Intelligence to him, when you had reason to expect that Party's coming over every Day. His Retreat he made from Leith, and now from Seatoun with the Help of the Movement I made from this, makes some Amends for that Mistake; and I hope that Party of Men with him will be of great use to you and the Cause. I wish you may find a way of sending the inclosed

to Mr Forrester, which I leave open for your Lordship to read; and I have little further to say to you than what you will find in it. I know so little of the Situation of your Affairs, that I must leave to your self what is fit for you to do, as will most conduce to the Service, and I know you will take good Advice.

My humble Service to all Friends with you, particularly Brigadier Macintosh, Lord Nairne, Lord Charles Murray and Macintosh; who I hope are join'd you long e'er now; and indeed they all deserve Praise for their gallant Behaviour. I must not forget Kinackin, who I hear spoke so resolutely to the Duke of Argyle from the Citadel; and I hope Innercall and all my Men with him are well, and their Countrymen long to be at them, which I hope they and we shall soon. I have sent another Copy of the inclosed to Mr Forrester by Sea, so it will be hard if none of them come to his Hands.

I know your Lordship will endeavour to let me hear from you as soon as possible, which I long impatiently for; and I hope you will find a way of sending it safe. In one of my former, either to your Lordship, or to some Body to shew you, I told that a part of the Army would be about Dumbartoun; but now you would not rely on that, for 'till I hear from General Gordon, I am uncertain if they hold that way. I have sent your Lordship a Copy of my New Commission, which perhaps you have not seen before. I have named the General Officers, and your Lordship has the Rank of a Brigadier of the Horse.

I am told Earl Wintoun has been very useful to our Men we sent over. I suppose he is now with your Lordship, and I beg you may make my Compliment to his Lordship, and I hope the King will soon thank him himself.

I will trouble your Lordship no further now, but all Success attend you, and may we soon have a merry Meeting. I am with all Respect,

My Lord,

From the Camp at Perth,
Octob. 21, 1715.

Your most Obedient and
most Humble Servant,
M A R.

From the Camp at Perth, October, *the 21st*, 1715.

S I R,

I Wrote to you of the 17th from Auchterardice, which I hope you got. I march'd the same Night the Horse to Dumblane, within four Miles of Stirling, and the Foot some Miles short of that Place.

Next Morning I had certain Intelligence of the Duke of Argyle's returning from Edinburgh with most of the Troops he had carried there, and was on their march towards Stirling: I also had Account of Evan's Regiment landing in the West of Scotland from Ireland, and were on their way to Stirling. I had come away from Perth before our Provisions were ready to go with us, and I found all the County about Stirling, where we were to pass Forth, was intirely exhausted by the Enemy, so that there was nothing for us to subsist on there. I had no Account from General Gordon, as I expected, and the soonest I could expect him at the Heads of Forth was Two Days after that, and I could not think of passing Forth 'till I was joyned by him. Under those Difficulties, and having got one of the Things I designed by my March, the Duke of Argyle's withdrawing from our Friends in Lothian, I thought fit to march back to Auchterardice, which was a better Quarter, tho' not a good one neither. Next Morning I got intelligence of the Duke of Argyle's being come to Stirling the Night before, and that he had sent Express upon Express to Evan's Dragoons to hasten up. I had a Letter also that Morning from General Gordon, telling me that some Things had kept him longer than he expected; that it would be that Day e'er he could be at Inverary, and that he could not possibly join me this Week. Upon this I thought it better to return here, which is a good Quarter, and wait his coming up, and the Lord Seaforth's, than continue at Auchterardice, since it would not a bit retard my passing the Forth when I should be in a Condition to do it, and in the mean time, I could be getting Provisions to carry along with me in my March, which as I have told, are absolutely necessary about the Heads of Forth: So I come Home last Night.

I very much regret my being obliged to this for many Reasons, particularly because of its keeping me so much the longer from joining you; but you can easily see it was not in my power to help it. However, I hope my Stay here shall be very short, and you may depend upon its being no longer than it necessarily must. The Passage over the Forth is now so extreamly difficult, that it is scarce possible to send any Letters that way; and within these Two Days there was Two Boats coming over with Letters to me, that were so hard pursu'd, that they were oblig'd to throw the Letters into the Sea; so that I know very little of our Friends on that Side, and less of you, which is no small Loss to me. I heard to Day by word of Mouth, that the Detachment I sent over are marched and joined our

Friends in the South of Scotland, so I hope they may be yet useful; but I hope you know more of them than I do. I have now writ to Lord Kenmuir, but it is ten to one if it comes to his Hands. I know not what he is doing, where he is, or what way he intends to dispose of his People; whether he is to march into England, or towards Stirling, to wait my passing Forth; and in the Ignorance I am in of your Affairs besough the River, I scarce know what to advise him. If you be in need of his Assistance in England, I doubt not but you have called him there; but if not, certainly his being in the Rear of the Enemy, when I pass Forth, or now that the Duke of Argyle is reinforc'd, should he march towards me before I am, it would be of great Service. I am forced in a great measure to leave it to himself to do as he finds most expedient.

I am afraid the Duke of Ormond is not as yet come to England, else I should have had the certainty of it one way or other before now. I cannot conceive what detains him, nor the King from coming here. However, I am sure it is none of their Fault: and I hope they will both surprize us agreeably very soon.

I believe I told you in my last of the Lord Strathmore and 200 of the Detachment that was going over Forth, and drove into the Island of May by Three Men of War, being got safe ashore on this Side, and are now joined us again. There were but Two of all the Boats taken: and I hear some of the Men that were in them, were made Prisoners in Leith, were relieved by our Men when they came there, but that their Officers were sent to Edinburgh Castle; so I want some reprisals for them, which I hope to have e'er long.

Tho' Mackentosh Brigadier's Mistake in going to Leith, was like to be unlucky to us and them, yet it has given the Duke of Argyle no little trouble; and our March obliging him to let them slip, has, I am apt to believe, vext him.

I beg you will find some way to let me hear from you. Ever since my Detachment were in Fyfe, all the Men of War that cruised on the North Coast, betwixt Peterhead and the Firth, have been in the Firth, and I believe will continue there, to prevent my sending more over that Way; so that all that Coast is clear, which I wish to God the King knew; and you may easily send a Boat here any where with Letters from England. I hear there is one of the Regiments of Foot come from Ireland to Stirling.

When you write to me, if by Sea, pray send me some News Paper,

that I may know what the World is a doing, for we know little of it here these Eight Days. Success attend you, and I am with all Truth and Esteem,

Directed thus,
To Mr Forrester with
the King's Forces in
Northumberland.

Sir,
Your most Obedient
Humble Servant,
M A R.

The Rebels made an Enterprize against Inverari, the chief Town of the Duke of Argyle, in which they likewise miscarry'd, and General Gordon, who commanded them, was obliged to retire, having found the Earl of Isla, Brother to the Duke of Argyle posted there, and in a Condition to give him a warm Reception. He march'd back to joyn the Earl of Mar, and 500 Men of the Western Highlands, who were marching under the Command of Campell of Glanderoule, to assist the said Gordon, were cut off and obliged to surrender to the Earl of Isla. There has been another Action, which was very vigorous on the part of the King's Troops, and therefore deserves to be inserted here, tho' it is not very considerable in it self.

Edinburgh, October 25.

By an Express come in this morning from Stirling, we learn, that on Sunday the 23d Instant the Duke of Argyle having Advice that a Party of the Rebels consisting of 200 foot and 100 Horse, were marching by Castle-Campbel towards Dunfermling, his Grace immediately sent off a Detachment of Dragoons, under the command of Colonel Cathcart, who came up with the Rebels on Monday at five a Clock in the Morning, in Dunfermling, and after having killed and wounded several of them, took 17 Prisoners, 11 whereof are Gentlemen, and are brought into Stirling, whose Names are as follows: Mr Murray, Brother to Laird of Aberkernie; Mr. Hay, Son to Arbath; Mr. Patrick Gornon, Aberlour's Son; Alexander Forbes, Son to Rebuslie; William Roberton, Brother to Donshills; Mr. Kinlock, a Physician; Alexander Smith, of the Family of Mintosh; Doctor Alexander Gordon, Francis Gordon of Craig, Mr. Hamilton of Gibstown in Strabogie, George Gordon of the Mill of Kincardin, and seven others who are Servants. It's said Captain Graham is among the Slain. In this Action there was only one Dragoon wounded on our Side.

The Earl of Mar who acts with an Arbitrary Power by Vertue of his Commission from the Pretender, has by his sole authority, laid a heavy Tax upon the People, amounting to no less than Six Shillings in

the Pound, on such as continue in the Interest of King George, which has oblig'd the Duke of Argyle to publish an Order to forbid the Payment of that Arbitrary Imposition. His Grace has emitted several other Orders for the Defence of the Country, and for augmenting the Troops under his Command, with 10 Men in each Company. He continues in his Camp at Stirling, expecting the Conjunction of some Reinforcements from Ireland, and the Arrival of the Dutch Forces, after which he will move to dislodge the Rebels from Perth, and endeavour to attack them.

The Earl of Sutherland, who was sent in the North of Scotland to raise his Vassals, and act against the Earl of Seaforth to hinder him from joining the Earl of Mar, with the Mackensees, and other Rebellious Clans, has made some Motions, but being not strong enough he has not been able to penetrate into the Enemies Country, for want of Arms to give to his People; so that the Earl of Seaforth according to our last Advices, was in Motion to joyn Mar.

This is the Substance of the Advices and Transactions in Scotland since our last, which would afford Matter for a great many Speculations, but we must refer them to the Readers themselves. We shall only observe, that notwithstanding the Rebels have shewn more Conduct than was to have been expected, and that their Rebellion was much better concerted than was reported at first, we may say that their Projects are disappointed; and that having not been able to do any thing while the Duke of Argyle had but a handful of Men to oppose them, it is highly improbable that they should do any thing after he is put in a Condition to quit his Camp at Stirling, and act against them. We return now to the Rebels in the North of England.

Mr Forster having received Notice of the March of Mackintosh to joyn him with his Highlanders, he passed the Tweed with his Northumberland Rebels at Kelso, and was joyned there by the Scotch. They proceeded from thence to Jedburgh, where having had Intelligence that General Carpenter was marching with all Expedition to attack them, they held a Council of War to consider what Course to take. The English Rebels propos'd to retire into England, and endeavour to penetrate into Lancashire, where they expected to have many Friends, but the Highlanders would not agree to it, and proposed to march back to attack the Duke of Argyle on one Side while Mar should attack him on the other, representing, that if they could but destroy the little Army under the Duke, the whole Kingdom of Scotland would be gain'd by that first Stroke. This Dispute occa-

sioned very warm Expressions, and in short the Highlanders seeing the English Horse was for returning into England, they drew out and threatned to fire upon them if they offer'd to leave them, and so compelled them to march to Hawick the 29th, and the 30th to Langham, designing to continue their March towards Dumfreys, but the English would not follow them, and resolv'd to return into England, and march'd the 1st of November to Brampton, being followed by part of the Highland Foot. The next Day they advanced to Penrith, and continued their March to Lancaster, where they arriv'd without any Opposition. The other Highlanders who separated from them, to return home, dispers'd themselves, and 200 of them were forc'd to surrender at Lamington to the Country People, who had surrounded them, and the rest will be certainly taken or destroyed.

General Carpenter having received Advice at Jedburgh the 2d of November, that the Rebels were march'd into England, march'd back towards New-Castle with his Dragoons, and used so much expedition, that he arrived there the 4th of November, designing to march the next day with the Dragoons of Cobham, Molesworth and Churchill, towards Westmoreland, and Lancaster, to attack the Rebels on that side, whilst General Wills is marching from Warrington with 10 Regiments to attack them that way: but these Motions being the Occurrences of November, we must refer them to our next Mercury. The Number of these Rebels is variously reported, but the largest Accounts make them 900 Foot, and 600 Horse, who are in a most miserable Condition. But perhaps the Readers will stop me here, and ask how it comes about, that if they are so few in number, and in so poor a condition, as they are at present, that they have been suffer'd to pass at Penrith, where the Militia of Westmoreland was assembled? I shall return no other Answer but this, That the Militia is a Thing mightily cry'd up, but not a Force to be rely'd upon for an Action; and on the other hand I will ask a Question myself, and desire to know how it comes about that the Rebels did not think fit to make a Stand and fight General Carpenter, who had but 3 Regiments of Dragoons, and part of a Batallion, if their Forces were so numerous as the Enemies of the Government have represented them?

Having dispatch'd the Article relating to the Motions of the Rebels, we shall proceed now to some Promotions since our former, or such as we could not for want of room insert in our former.

His Majesty has been pleased to appoint the following Lords Lieutenants in North Britain, viz.

Mid Lothian	Archibald Earl of Islay
West Lothian	Charles Earl of Hoptoun
East Lothian	Charles Marquiss of Tweeddale
March	Alexander Lord Polwarth
Roxburgh and Selkirk	John Duke of Roxburghe
Dumfreis Kircubright and Peobles,	William Marquis of Annandale
Galloway	John Earl of Stair
Cliddisdale	Charles Earl of Selkirk
Rennew	William Lord Ross
Air	Hugh Earl of Loudoun
Bute	——Earl of Bute
Argyle and Dumbarton	John Duke of Argyle
Stirling and Clackmannan	David Earl of Buchan
Perth	John Duke of Atholl
Fife Kinross	John Earl of Rothes
Angus	——Duke of Douglas
Aberdeen and Mairns	William Lord Forbes
Banff and Inverness	Alexander Brigadier Grant
Ross and Cromarty Murray and Nairn Caithness and Sutherland	John Earl of Sutherland
Orkney	James Earl of Morton

His Majesty has been pleased to appoint Lords Lieutenants in England,

Francis Earl of Godolphin, for the County of Oxford.

Edward Earl of Orford, for the County of Cambridge.

Henry Viscount Newport, for the County of Stafford.

Bennet Lord Hatborough, for the County of Rutland.

George Doddington, Esq ; for the County of Somerset.

John Morgan of Tredegar, Esq ; for the Counties of Monmouth and Brecknock.

Charles Marquis of Winchester, for the Counties of Carmarthen and Glamorgan.

John Viscount Lisburn, for the County of Cardigan.

Thomas Lord Coningsby, for the County of Radnor.

Sir Arthur Owen, Bart. for the County of Pembroke.

His Majesty has created the following Peers of Ireland, Sir Henry

Tichburne, Bart.; Baron Farrard of Farrard in the County of Louth; Gustavus Hamilton, Esq; Major-General of his Majesty's Forces, Baron Hamilton of Stackallan, in the County of Meath; Theophilus Butler, Esq; Baron Butler of Newtown-Butler in the County of Cavan; John Moore, Esq; Baron Moore of Tullamore in the King's County. Also has appointed the Lord Viscount Castlecomer to be Lord-Lieutenant of the County of Kilkenny; Edward Hughes, Esq. to be Advocate General or Judge-Martial of all his Majesty's Forces in England, the Dominion of Wales, and Town of Berwick upon Tweed.

The Right Honourable Frederick Hamilton, Esq. to be Lieutenant-General of his Forces.

Charles, Earl of Carlisle, to be Constable of the Tower of London.

Robert Walpole, Esq; Sir William St. Quintin, Bart.; Paul Methuen, Esq; Daniel Lord Finch, and Thomas Newport, Esq. to be Commissioners for executing the Office of Treasurer of his Majesty's Exchequer.

His Majesty has been likewise pleased to appoint Robert Walpole, Esq. to be Chancellor and Under-Treasurer of his Majesty Exchequer.

Henry, Earl of Lincoln, to be Receiver and Pay-master General of all his Majesty's Guards, Garrisons and Land Forces.

Lord Will. Pawlet and Sir Richard Onslow, Bart. to be Two of the Tellers of the Exchequer.

Dr. Thomas Sherlock to be Dean of Chichester.

The Bishop of Lincoln to be Lord Almoner in room of the Bishop of Bristol.

Charles, Earl of Tankerville, to be Warden, Chief Justice, &c., of all his Majesty's Forrests, Parks, &c. on this side of the Trent.

Sir George Bing, Kt. is made a Baronet of Great Britain.

To the KING's most Excellent MAJESTY.

The humble ADDRESS of the Turkey, Russia, East Country, Hambourgh, Dutch, Italian, Spanish, Portugal, West India, Virginia *Merchants, and other Traders*, &c. *of the City of* London.

Most Gracious Sovereign,

THE Pernicious Scheme concerted for subverting the Liberties of this Nation, the late Tumults, and the present Rebellion, cannot but awaken all your honest Subjects, and inspire them with that just Concern for their Country which becomes Patriots and Free

Men. Your Majesty may place a particular Confidence in the Loyalty and Affections of the Trading part of this Kingdom; none are more deeply interested in the Fate of Britain, none have expressed in the most dangerous Times a warmer Zeal for the Succession of your most Illustrious House, and none will Contribute more Liberally or Act more Unreservedly in the Defence thereof.

The Endeavours of those who had laid Plans of Ruin and Slavery for these Kingdoms, have been not only to divide our Religious from our Civil Interests, but to set one part of Property against another, by making the Landed Gentlemen Jealous of the Trader, as if both Interests were incompatible; they could not have contrived a more effectual Method to destroy their Country, than by discountenancing Trade, a considerable Source of its Strength and Power: This was the proper Business of Men who designed to give up a Rich and Flourishing Nation But your Majesty is both too Good to place your Greatness in any thing but the Prosperity of your People, and too Wise not to know that Prosperity depends chiefly on the Encouragement of Commerce, which it will be the Glory of your Reign to Recover and Enlarge: in Consequence of which we may assuredly depend on your Majesty's Goodness and Protection not only from our Zeal for your Majesty's Person and Government, but also as our true Interests can never be distinct from those of our Country.

As we are perswaded of your Majesty's Care and Concern for our Happiness, so we will not fail to make such Returns of Duty and Zeal as shall convince our Enemies how desperate the Attempt is in which they are engaged, and when they see you surrounded with Faithful Subjects at Home, and when all Hopes of Assistance are cut off from Abroad. That your Majesty may long Reign in the Hearts of your loving and obedient Subjects, that you may be the Restorer of our Trade, as you are the Defender of our Religion and Liberties; And that there may never be wanting a Prince descended from your Royal Loins to sway the British Scepter, and adorn the Throne of your Ancestors: These, Great Sir, are the hearty Prayers of your most humble, most obedient, most loyal and dutiful Subjects, who have hereunto unanimously subscribed their Names, *&c.*

His Majesty's *most Gracious* ANSWER.

'I Thank you for this Loyal Address, and for the just Indignation you express against the Traiterous Designs and Rebellion now

'on foot to Subvert the Religion and Liberties of my People: I 'shall do all I can to encourage and improve Trade, which is so 'essential to the Strength and Riches of the Nation.'

The following Association hath been lately signed at York by the Right Honourable the Earl of Burlington, Lord-Lieutenant, the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen of the City of York, Deputy-Lieutenants, Justices of Peace, Gentlemen, Clergy, Citizens, Free-holders, and others of the West-Riding of the County of York, and of the City and Anisty of York, in Detestation of the present horrid Rebellion, and in Defence of the Right of His Majesty King George, and of the Protestant Succession.

WHereas there is now a horrid and unnatural Rebellion, and also a Conspiracy formed and carried on by Papists and other wicked and traiterous Persons, in order not only to Dethrone but Assassinate his present Majesty King George, the only rightful and lawful King of these Realms, and Subvert our Religion, and to set upon the Throne a Popish Pretender, whom they have in several Places proclaimed by the Name of King James the Third; We the Lord-Lieutenant, Lord-Mayor, and Aldermen of the City of York, Deputy Lieutenants, Justices of the Peace, Gentlemen, Clergy, Citizens, Free-holders, and others of the West-Riding of the County of York, and of the City and Anisty of York, whose Names are or shall be subscribed to this Writing, being of Opinion that in Times so full of Division, Danger, and Treasonable Practices as these are, an Union of our Hearts and Forces will be most conducing to his Majesty's Safety, and the publick Good of our Country; do voluntarily and willingly bind ourselves every one of us to the other in one Firm and Loyal Society, and do hereby promise that with our whole Powers, Bodies, Lives, and Estates, we and every one of us will stand by and assist each other in the Support and Defence of his Majesty's sacred Person and his Government, and withstand, offend, and pursue, as well by Force of Arms as by any other Means, the said Popish Pretender, and Traitors, and also all manner of Persons of what State soever they shall be, and their Abettors, that shall Counsel, Act, or Consent to any thing that shall tend to the Harm of His Majesty King George, or of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, or any of his Issue, or to the Subversion of his Majesty's Government; and will never desist from all Manner of forcible pursuit against the said Pretender, and such Traiterous

Persons, to the utter Extermination of them their Aiders and Abettors.

And in case his Majesty come to any violent and untimely Death, (which God forbid) we do Vow and Protest to persecute to the utmost of our Power the Contrivers, Actors and Abettors thereof to the Death, and to act the utmost Revenge upon them that by any Means we or any of us can devise or do for their Overthrow and Extirpation.

And we do declare, that no one of us shall for any respect of Persons or Causes, or for Fear or Reward, separate our selves from this Association, or fail in the Prosecution thereof, upon pain of being prosecuted by the rest of our public Enemies to God, the King, and to our Country.

There has been several other Associations in divers parts, which we have not room to insert.

POSTSCRIPT.

A DECLARATION *of the* ARCH-BISHOP *of* Canterbury, *and the* BISHOPS *in and near* London, *Testifying their Abhorrence of the* Present Rebellion; *With an Exhortation to the Clergy and People under their Care, to be Zealous in the Discharge of their Duties to his Majesty King* GEORGE.

WHEREAS an unnatural Rebellion has been raised against our lawful and rightful Sovereign King George, in several parts of the Kingdom, and is still threatned in more, we have thought it incumbent upon us, out of our Duty to God, to our King, to our Country, and to our Holy Religion, in this publick Manner to declare our Abhorrence of it, and to warn both the Clergy and People under our Charge, of the great Obligations they lie under, upon all these Accounts, to shew a hearty and open Zeal for the Government in this Conjuncture.

The Providence of God has indeed so wonderfully appeared hitherto, both in timely Discovering the Treason, and in disappointing our Enemies of several Advantages they expected, that we have great Reason to trust in him, that the Event will be to the Confusion of the wicked Actors in this Rebellion; but however in a Matter of this high Nature, wherein our Duty and our dearest Interests are so deeply concerned, no Endeavours ought to be thought Superfluous, nor Zeal unnecessary.

We are the more concerned, that both the Clergy and People of our Communion should shew themselves hearty Friends to the Government upon this Occasion, to vindicate the Honour of the Church of England, because the chief Hopes of our Enemies seem to arise from Discontents artificially raised among us, and because some, who have valued themselves, and have been too much valued by others, for a pretended Zeal for the Church, have joyned with Papists in these wicked Attempts; which as they must ruin the Church if they succeed, so they cannot well end without great Reproach to it, if the rest of us do not clearly and heartily declare our Detestation of such Practices.

We are not surprized that Papists should rise up against a Government which they would never yet own, and endeavour to set a Person upon the Throne, who will establish their Religion and ruin ours: (tho' Rebellion is but an ill Return for the Quiet they have enjoyed.) But that professed Members of the Church of England should Joyn with them in this, and out of Private Discontents, Attempt to set up a Person whom they have so often and so lately Abjured, is so vile and detestable a thing, as may justly make them Odious both to God and Man; but at the same time to pretend a Zeal for the Church, that is, to joyn with Papists, to set up a Popish Pretender, to support the Church of England, is such an Imposition on the Common Sense of Mankind, that nothing even in Popery it self can be more absurd, and nothing but an Infatuation from God, justly inflicted for our Sins, can suffer to pass upon the Nation.

How much Blood this may cost, or what Ruin it may bring on Our Country, God only knows; But we think proper to observe to you, that the more clearly and openly we declare our selves for the Government, the less it will probably be: and that all those must have a share in the Guilt of the innocent Blood that shall be spilt, not only who actually joyn in the Rebellion, but who do any way promote it; or even by their Silence at this Juncture, shall give Hopes to the Pretender and his Friends, and just Cause of Jealousie and Suspicion to the Government.

And is this a Time to stand Neuters when all lies at stake? Or is Popery become so innocent of late, that it is indifferent whether a Popish or Protestant Prince be on the Throne? This we speak to those who have owned the King's Title, and have sworn to maintain it, and are ready to do it again, as occasion offers; who, we have reason to believe, are so many, that if they are true to their Oaths,

the Government (humanely speaking) cannot be in any Danger. And is it not fit for all such Persons to consider seriously what those Oaths are, with which they have bound their Souls? they have not only abjured the Pretender, and his Title; but have sworn to defend King George to the utmost of their Power, against all Traiterous Conspiracies and Attempts whatsoever, which shall be made against his Person, Crown, or Dignity; and to the utmost of their Power to maintain and defend the Succession of the Crown against the said Pretender, and all other Persons whatsoever.

These Words do not only import, that We will not Rebel against the King; But that We will be Active for Him according to Our several Stations, especially in Times of Danger; when Rebellions are raised against Him: They who are called to be Soldiers, by fighting Couragiously for Him: They who are Magistrates, by Using their Authority for His Support; They who are Ministers, by their Prayers, by their Preaching, and by their Admonishing those under their Care, of their Duty to Him; and all of us, by a cheerful ready Declaration of our Resolution to stand by him.

Such a Conduct would discourage the Rebels, and animate the Government, would put an End to Our Troubles, and support His Majesty in the Just Possession of the Crown, which was settled upon his Family with very mature Consideration, and for just and weighty Reasons, as being the next Family of the Royal Blood that were Protestants; from whom only We could expect Protection in our religious and civil Liberties, which are the Birthright of the People of England, and which no Man has a Right to invade. This Settlement was established by the whole Legislature, and confirm'd by many Acts of Parliament made in Two different Reigns, and under the Prevalency of each of the unhappy Divisions of Parties among Us; several of them, in the last Years of our late Gracious Queen, and has been, from time to time, sworn to by almost all, of all Orders and Degrees of Men among Us.

As this Settlement was made for the Security and Benefit of these Kingdoms, so have We have all the Reason in the World to think Our selves happy in that Person, who, by all this Authority, at present Reigns over us. Even His Enemies are forced to confess, that He is a very good and gracious Prince: He lives in the Constant Communion of the Church of England, and has given us both His Oath, and His repeated Royal Word to protect it; and He has not, by any Thing He has done, given us the least Reason to suspect,

but that it will flourish at least, as much under His Government, as under that of the Best of His Royal Predecessors.

But if the Pretender should prevail, What can the Church of England expect, but Ruin and Destruction? A Popish Prince upon the Throne, Bigotted to his Religion, and Heated with what will then be called Ill Usage, together with a long Train of Papists in the Succession, can bode nothing, but Fatal and Irrecoverable Ruin to it. May not We in this Matter appeal to the Experience of all Countries, whether a Succession of Popish Princes have not Ruined the Protestant Religion wherever it has been planted. They are obliged by the Laws of their Church, to Extirpate out of their Dominions what they call Heresy, which their Canonists treat as a Crime more Heinous than either Murder or Rebellion. And these Laws They never fail to put in Execution when they have full Power to do it; as We may be Satisfied from what was done in Flanders, where, according to the Account of Writers of that Communion, above Fifty Thousand were put to the most miserable Deaths.

To pass over the Massacres and Horrible Persecutions in France, Savoy, and other Foreign Countries, Let Us call to mind how much this Church and Nation suffered in the Bloody, tho' Short Reign of Queen Mary, contrary to Solemn Promises; when not only many were put to Death, as Hereticks Convict, but the Torture was Ordered for whom They suspected, and who wou'd not Confess, according to the Barbarity of the Inquisition; which Horrid Court, or something very like it, wou'd Probably have been Set up in this Kingdom, had that Popish Reign lasted but a little longer: and We have reason to fear it wou'd Effectually be Establish'd here, if ever God, for our Sins, shou'd suffer another Popish Prince to be Settled on this Throne.

The Progress that was made toward the Bringing this Yoke of Bondage upon Us, and the Miseries with which we were Threatned under the late Unhappy King James, are too fresh in our Thoughts to be forgotten: And what befel that Unfortunate Prince, will certainly be remembered and resented by him who claims an indefeasable Right to his Kingdoms.

But besides this, How must the Pretender look upon the Clergy of the Church of England, after all that they have been doing for near Thirty Years together? They were the Clergy, that in the time of King James, did justly alarm the Nation with the Dangers of

Popery; from whence followed all that was done at the Revolution. And the Clergy have every Year since that, upon the Fifth of November, given God Thanks for what was then done, *for making all Opposition fall before him* (the Prince of Orange) *till he became our King.* They have not only taken all the Oaths Established by Law, but have used the daily Prayers, and those of the several Fasts and Thanksgivings, for the Prosperity of the Government. They have frequently, from time to time, in their Addresses from the Convocation, and from their respective Dioceses, promised to stand by the Protestant Succession. How must the Pretender look upon Persons, that have done all this? That have prayed against him, that have addressed against him, that have sworn against him, and abjured him for so many Years together?

What a Reproach will this Matter then be to the Church of England? Such of us as stand true to our Oaths, will then be called Rebels and Traitors; and such as do not (if any shall be so wicked) will be called Atheists and Infidels for taking Abominable Oaths against their Consciences. What Scandal will this give to Our People? And how they will be apt to turn Papists in great Numbers, when we, that should direct and stand by them, shall fall under such Reproaches? But we hope better, tho' we thus speak; and that God will not suffer these sore Judgments to come upon us, and our Country.

We do therefore, in the Name of God, call upon all those who are under our Care, in the first place to humble themselves before God, for the great and crying Sins of the Nation; for that Spirit of Infidelity and Libertinism; of Unthankfulness for the Mercies of the Gospel; of Formality and Hypocrisie; of Strife and Envy, of Hatred and Animosity, which are so rife among us: And which are generally the Forerunners of the Destruction of any People. Let us all cry mightily to God, to avert these Judgments, which we have so justly deserved; that he would *save his People,* so often and so wonderfully preserved by him, *and not give his Heritage to Reproach;* that he would not suffer this Church to be over-run with Superstition and Idolatry, or leave us to the Mercies of them, *whose Mercies are cruel.* Let us particularly pray for the Preservation of the Person and Government of our most gracious Sovereign King G E O R G E, that God would cover his Enemies with Shame; *but that upon himself* and his Posterity, *the Crown may ever flourish.* We do also charge both Clergy and People, as they will be answerable for the Destruc-

tion, that may otherwise come both upon the Church and Nation; that they endeavour to strengthen the Hands of the Government in this dangerous Conjuncture: The Clergy by plainly admonishing their Flocks of their Duty, both to their King and Country; and the People by a chearful Declaration of their Readiness to stand by the Government. And let all of us, forgetting all Differences and Animosities, make this the great Contention, who shall act with the truest Zeal against the common Enemy.

And God grant, that we may all, in this our Day, see the Things that belong to Our Peace, before they are hid from our Eyes.

Novemb. 3, 1715.

THO. CANTUAR'	*W. Lincoln.*
Joh. London.	*C. Norwich.*
Jonathan Winchester.	*W. Ely.*
Jo. Lichfield & Cov.	*Tho. Chichester.*
Ric. Peterborough.	*Rich. Glocester.*
W. Sarum.	*John Asaph.*
Jo. Bangor.	*Jo. Oxon.*

The Rebels being advanced to Preston, Major-General Wills march'd thither the 11th of November from Wiggan, pass'd the Ribble Bridge near Preston, without any Opposition, and surrounded the Rebels in that Place, from which being not able to make their Escape, they surrender'd themselves the 14th to the King's Mercy; but these Particulars we must refer to our next.

The 15th, 3000 Men, being part of the Dutch Auxillaries, arriv'd in the River, and the other 3000 are sail'd for the North.

The Treaty of Barrier was signed at Antwerp on the 5th of November, O. S. of which more in our next.

HAVING followed the English and Scotch Rebels, commanded by Major-General Forster as far as Penrith, and taken Notice in our last by way of Postscript of the Defeat at Preston, we shall now relate the Particulars relating thereunto.

The Rebels continuing their March without any Opposition, march'd the 3rd of November to Appelby, and the 4th to Kendal, from whence they proceeded the 7th to Lancaster, and the next Day to Preston, having caused the Pretender to be proclaimed in those Places. The Government having upon the first Notice of the Motions of the Rebels towards Lancaster, dispatched Major-General Wills, to assemble Pitt's Regiments of Horse, and the Dragoons of Stanhope,

Dormer, Honywood, Winn, Munden and Newton, and those of the Town of Preston and Solure, used so much Expedition, that he arrived with part of those Troops the 9th of November at Manchester, having been informed that the Lord Widdrington, Forster, and some other Chiefs of the Rebels were come thither, in hopes to incourage their Friends in those Parts to rise. This expeditious March disappointed the Rebels, who returned to Lancaster. General Wills being resolved to lose no time, march'd the 10th to Wigan, and the next Day to Preston with the Horse and Dragoons he had with him, and Preston's Regiment of Foot, and attacked the Rebels with so much Conduct and Bravery, that they were all taken in that Place. We have had several Accounts of that memorable Event, but as the last is the most particular, we shall insert it here.

The Account of the Reduction of the Rebels at Preston, transmitted by Lieutenant-General Wills, is as follows.

Preston, November 20.

ON Friday, November the 11th, Major-General Wills, with the Regiments of Dragoons of Winn, Honywood, Munden, and Dormer, and Preston's Regiment of Foot, marched from Manchester to Wigan, where Pitt's Regiment of Horse, and Stanhope's Dragoons were in Quarters. The General left Orders for Newton's Regiment of Dragoons, which were marching from Worcester to join him, to remain at Manchester, to prevent the disaffected in that Town from rising as they had promised. The General upon his arriving at Wigan received Advice that the Rebels were still at Preston, upon which he gave Orders for the March of the Troops by break of Day next Morning. He formed the Horse into three Brigades, viz. Winn's and Honywood's, under the Command of Brigadier Munden; Pitt's and Dormer's under the Command of Brigadier Dormer.

Saturday the 12th, the Troops began their March by break of Day in the following Order; Preston's Regiment of Foot in the Front, with a Captain and 50 of that Regiment for the Vanguard, sustained by a Detachment of a Captain and 50 Dragoons; Brigadier Honywood's Brigade followed the Foot, Dormer's after Honywood's, Munden's in the Rear, and the Baggage in the Rear of all. About One in the Afternoon we arrived at the Bridge of Ribble, which is a small Mile from Preston, where there were several of the Foot and Horse belonging to the Rebels, but upon the Approach of his Majesty's Troops they retir'd into the Town without disputing the Passage. As soon as we had

gained the rising Ground near the Town, the Troops drew up till the General had viewed the Avenues of the Town, which he found to be strongly barricaded, and 2 Pieces of Cannon planted at each Barricade. As soon as the General came back, he order'd the following Disposition for the Attacks: Preston's Regiment of Foot commanded by Lord Forrester, a Captain and 50 Dragoons of each of the five Regiments, with a Colonel, Lieutenant Colonel, and Major to command them, to dismount to sustain Preston's, and Brigadier Honywood's Regiment to sustain them on Horseback; the whole to be commanded by Brigadier Honywood, for the Attack of the Avenue that leads to Wigan.

For the Attack of the Avenue that leads to Lancaster, which is the opposite side of the Town to that of Wigan, the Regiments of Winn and Dormer, and a Squadron of Stanhope's were ordered to dismount under the Command of Brigadier Dormer; and Brigadier Munden, with the Regiments of Pitt, Munden, and a Squadron of Stanhope's remained on Horseback to sustain Brigadier Dormer; so that the whole Troops were employed in the two Attacks.

As soon as the Disposition was made, and the Troops ready, the General gave the Brigadiers that commanded the two Attacks Orders to March and gain the Ends of the Town, and set the Houses on Fire to dislodge by that Means the Rebels from their Barricade, and to make such Lodgments for their Men, as to prevent their Sallying out upon them, or making their Escape.

Brigadier Honywood, with the Troops under his Command, marched and attacked the first Barrier, which they immediately abandon'd and retir'd to the second Barricade which was very strong both by Nature and Art, and on which they had two Pieces of Cannon planted. Brigadier Honywood finding that the taking the Barricade would cost him a great number of Men, thought it properer to take Possession of two great Houses within Fifty Yards of it, by which he secured his Men from the Fire of the Rebels, which was very great, and annoy'd them very much from the Windows; in which Situation he remained till Night, and then threw up Breastworks to secure himself from their Sallies, and posted his Men so advantagiously, that it was not possible for them to make their Escape at that Part of the Town. As soon as he had got his Men under Cover, he order'd the Houses betwixt him and the Barricade to be set on Fire; which was done accordingly, though not without the Loss of some Men.

Brigadier Dormer, with the Troops under his Command, gain'd the End of the Town, but sustain'd a great Fire in their Approaches, and set the Houses on Fire which burnt up to their Barricade. Brigadier Dormer receiv'd a Shot in his Leg in this Attack.

A little before Day the General viewed all the Posts, and gave Orders for making a Communication betwixt the two Attacks, in order to sustain each other in case they were pushed.

On Sunday, November the 13th, General Carpenter arrived with the Regiments of Cobham, Churchill, and Molesworth, about 12 a-Clock. At Two in the Afternoon, the Rebels sent out one of their Officers to Capitulate; upon which General Wills sent Lieutenant-Colonel Cotton, his Aide de Camp, into the Town, to acquaint them, That he would give no other Terms than that of Prisoners at Discretion, and that they must submit to the King's Mercy. The Heads of the Rebels told Colonel Cotton, That there was Disputes between the English and Scotch, but they hoped if the General would grant them a Cessation of Arms till the next Morning, at Break a Day, that they should be able to settle the whole Affair as he commanded.

After Colonel Cotton had carried several Messages the General agreed to it, provided that they should make no Works in the Town, nor suffer any of their People to escape. Colonel Cotton brought out Lord Derwentwater for the English, Mackintosh for the Scotch, as Hostages, that what was demanded should be complied with.

At break of Day, next Morning, the Rebels submitted to the King's Mercy, and Colonel Cotton was sent back to take Possession of the Town, and to Order the King's Troops to march in and disarm the Rebels, which was done accordingly.

Brigadier Honywood received a Contusion on the Shoulder by a Musket Shot, and Major Bland a slight one on the Arm, and the Horse he was on was shot through the Neck. There was killed at Brigadier Honywood's Attack, 2 Captains, 1 Ensign, and 28 Soldiers: Wounded, Lord Forrester, Major Lawson, 2 Captains, 1 Lieutenant, 4 Ensigns, and 50 private Men; Total Killed and Wounded at Brigadier Honywood's Attack 82. At Brigadier Dormer's Attack, there were 9 Men Killed; wounded the Brigadier, 1 Captain, 1 Lieutenant, 1 Cornet, and 39 Men. Total killed and wounded at Brigadier Dormer's Attack 48, at Brigadier Honywood's 82, in all 130.

As this Action has put an end to the Rebellion in England, we think it will not be improper to insert here a List of the Prisoners taken therein.

A LIST of the Noblemen and Gentlemen, English and Scotch, taken at Preston.

MR. Forster, General the Earl of Derwentwater, Lord Widdrington, Mr. Edward Howard, Mr Charles Ratcliffe, Charles Widdrington, Gent. Per. Widdrington, Walter Tankard, John Thornton, John Clavering, John Clavering, William Clavering, Nich. Wogan, Charles Wogan, John Talbot, Robert Talbot, Roger Salked, George Collingwood, John Hunter, Edward Ord, William Tunstill, Paymaster-General, William Shaftoe, John Shaftoe, Edward Shaftoe, John Shaftoe, Edward Swinburn, James Swinburn, George Gibson, Edward Byers, Richard Stockart, William Charleton. Edward Charleton, Charles Charley, Richard Charley, Ra. Standish, Francis Aderton, Richard Tonley, John Dalton, John Layborn, Gab. Hestedt, Cuthbert Hestedt, Thomas Walton, Edward Tesley, Thomas Erington, Philip Hudson, James Talbot, Alexander Deasiness, Lyon Walden, John Mesterson, George Sanderson, George Budding, John Cotton, Robert Cotton, Richard Gasscoine, John Hunter, William Hardwick, Tho. Butler, Robert Patton, William Caston, Thomas Lisle, Thomas Forster, William Raine, Thomas Riddle, Henry Widdrington, Richard Ord, William Sanderson, John Towle, John Hothersalt, Francis Thornbuck, John Heale, Edward Mackey, Henry Oxbourgh, William Dobson, John Beaumont, and John Crofts.

Scotch. The Earl of Nithsdale, Earl of Winton, Earl of Carnwath, Viscount Kenmure, Lord Nairn, Master of Nairn, Lord Charles Murray, Ma. Basil Hamilton, George Seton of Barne, Capt. James Delsel, Brigadier Mackintosh, Colonel Stewart, Mr William Erring, Alexander Forrester, William Gierson, Gilbert Gierson, William Chalderwood, Robert M. Clean, Robert Cruthers, Andrew Cashie, Mr Lockart, Ja. Skeen, Walter Riddle, and Richard Harris.

The Names of the other Prisoners being not material, we shall content ourselves to insert the Total of the said Prisoners as follows:

Noblemen and Gentlemen of the English	75
Their Vassals, or Followers and Servants	83
Private Men in the Church	305
Total of English	463

429

Scotch Noblemen, Officers and Gentlemen		143
Their Vassals, Servants and others		862
	Total of Scotch	1005
	English in Preston	463
	Taken at Lancaster	4
		467
Scotch in Preston 1005 / Taken in Lancaster 17		1022
	Total	1489

The Noblemen, and others more considerable amongst the Prisoners, were sent to London, and the rest confined in the Castle of Chester, and other Places. Some Officers in the King's Service, who actually received their Pay, as half Pay, being found amongst the Rebels, a Court Martial was held at Preston the 28th of November, to try the Lord Charles Murray, one of the Sons of the Duke of Athol, Major Nairn, Captain Lockart, Brother to Lockart of Carnwath, whose Memoirs have made so much Noise, Captain Ereskine and Captain John Shaftoe, who were found guilty of Desertion, and accordingly sentenced to be shot to Death, which was executed accordingly the Friday following, except as to the Lord Charles Murray, who obtained a Reprieve.

Thus this great Rebellion was quashed in a Moment, through the Blessing of God and the good Orders given by the Government, which were cheerfully executed by the Generals, Officers and Soldiers with all imaginable Expedition and Alacrity. The same Day that the Rebels at Preston were capitulating, the King's Forces under the Duke of Argyle obtained a great Victory over the Scotch Rebels commanded by the Earl of Mar, of which the best Accounts are as follows; one printed by Authority in London, and the other at Edinburgh.

Whitehall, November 21.

COlonel Harrison being sent Express to his Majesty by his Grace the Duke of Argyle, arrived on Saturday, and has given the following Account of the Victory obtained over the Rebels on the 13th Instant.

The Duke of Argyle being informed on the 12th, that the Rebels had come to Auchterarder with their Baggage, Artillery, and a sufficient Quantity of Bread for a March of many Days, found he was obliged either to engage them on the Grounds near Dumblain, or to decamp and wait their coming to the Head of Forth. He chose the first on many Accounts, and amongst others, that the Grounds near Dumblain were much more advantagious for his Horse than those at the Head of the River; and besides this, by Frost then beginning, the Forth might become passable at several Places, which the small number of his Troops did not enable him to guard sufficiently. He likewise received Advice, That the 12th at Night the Rebels designed to encamp at Dumblain; upon which, judging it of Importance to prevent them by possessing that Place, he marched the 12th in the Forenoon, and encamped with his Left at Dumblain, and his Right toward the Sherriff-Moor; the Enemy that Night stopped within two Miles of Dumblain. Next Morning his Grace being informed by his advanced Guard that the Rebels were forming, he rode to a rising Ground, where he viewed the Enemy distinctly, and found as they pointed their March, they designed streight upon our Flank The Moor to our Right was the preceding Night unpassable, and so guarded us from being flanked on that side, but by the Frost was become passable. His Grace therefore ordered his Troops to stretch to the Right in the following Order, 3 Squadrons of Dragoons upon Right and Left of the front Line, and 6 Batalions of Foot in the Center. The second Line was composed of 2 Batalions in the Center, one Squadron on the Right, and another on their Left, and one Squadron of Dragoons behind each Wing of Horse in the first Line. As the Right of our Army came over against the Left of the Rebels, close to a Morass, his Grace finding they were not quite formed, gave Orders immediately to fall on, and charged both their Horse and Foot. They received us very briskly, but after some Resistance they were broke through, and were pursued above 2 Miles by 5 Squadrons of Dragoons, the Squadron of Volunteers, and 5 Batalions of Foot. When we came near the River Allan, by the vast Number of Rebels we drove before us, we concluded it an entire Rout, and resolved to pursue as long as we had Day-light. The pursuing to the River Allan had taken up a long time, by reason of the frequent Attempts they had made to form in different Places, which obliged us as oft to attack and break them. When they were in part passed, and others passing the Allan, Major-General Wight-

man, who commanded the 5 Batallions of Foot, sent to acquaint the Duke of Argyle that he could not discover what had become of our Troops on the Left, and that a considerable Body of the Rebels Horse and Foot stood behind us. Upon that his Grace halted, formed his Troops in order, and marched towards the Hill on which the Rebels had posted themselves. Thereafter his Grace extended his Right towards Dumblain, to give his Left an opportunity of joining him. There we continued until it was late, and not finding our Left come up, his Grace marched slowly towards the Ground on which he had formed in the Morning.

So soon as it was dark, the Rebels who continued undispersed on the top of the Hill moved to Ardoch. About an hour after, our Troops which had been separated from the Duke of Argyle joined his Grace. Our Dragoons on the Left in the beginning of the Action Charged some of their Horse on the Right, and carried off a Standard; but at the same time the Rebels pressed so hard on our Batallions on the Left, that they were disordered, and obliged to fall amongst the Horse. The Rebels by this means cut off the Communication betwixt our Left and the other Body; and they being informed a Body of the Rebels were endeavouring to get to Stirling, the Troops of our Left retired beyond Dumblain, to possess themselves of the Passes leading there. We have as yet no certain Account of the Numbers killed, but it's reckoned they may be about 800, amongst whom there are several Persons of Distinction. The Quality of the Prisoners is not yet fully known, only that the Viscount of Strathallen, 2 Colonels, 2 Lieutenant-Colonels, one Major, 9 Captains, besides Subalterns, are brought to Stirling. We have likewise carried off 14 Colours and Standards, 4 Pieces of Cannon, Tombrels with Ammunition, and all their Bread Waggons.

This Victory was not obtained without the Loss of some brave Men on our side; the Earl of Forfar's Wounds are so many, that his Life is despaired of; the Earl of Ilay, who came half an hour before the Action, received 2 Wounds, the one in his Arm, and the other in his side, but the Bullet being cut out of his Side, it is hoped he is past Danger; General Evans received a Cut in the Head; Colonel Hawley was shot through the Body, but there is hopes of his Recovery; Colonel Lawrence taken Prisoner; Colonel Hammers, and Captain Armstrong, Aid de Camp to the Duke of Argyle, are killed. The Courage of the British troops was never Keener than on this Occasion; who, tho' the Rebels were Three times their Number,

yet attacked and pursued them with all Resolution imaginable. The Conduct and Bravery of the Generals and inferior Officers contributed much to this Success ; but above all the great Example of his Grace the Duke of Argyle, whose Presence not only gave Spirit to the Action, but gained Success as often as he led on. The Troop of Horse Volunteers, who consisted of Noblemen and Gentlemen of Distinction, showed their Quality by the Gallantry of their Behaviour ; in a particular manner the Duke of Roxburgh, the Lords Rothes, Haddington, Lauderdale, Loudown, Belhaven, and Sir John Shaw.

Besides the Persons of Distinction mentioned above to be with the Duke of Argyle, in the Troop of Volunteers commanded by the Earl of Rothes, there are also these following, viz. the Duke of Douglas, who brought with him several Gentlemen well mounted, the Lord Binny, eldest Son to the Earl of Haddington, Mr Linsey, Uncle to the Earl of Croufurt, Sir John Anstruther, Mr. Hadden, Mr. Cocburn, Son to the Lord Justice Clerk, who was wounded, Mr. Dalrymple.

The Account of the Battle of Dumblain, *printed at* Edinburgh.

S I R, *Stirling, Nov.* 15, 1715.

I Give you the following Account of what has past since Friday the 11th Instant.

The Duke of Argyle being inform'd of Mar's Motions and Designs, call'd a Council of War, in which it was resolved to march to Dumblain, and try to engage the Rebels on Sherriff-Moor, thereby to prevent their passing the Forth.

His Grace accordingly pass'd our Bridge with his little Army of 3300 Men, on Saturday Morning, by 9 a Clock, and the same Evening reach'd the Fields beyond Dumblain, lying under Arms all Night, within two Miles of the Enemy.

By break of Day next Morning, both Armies being in Order of Battle, the Rebels, with a great Body of Troops, which we at first took to be their whole Army, advanced towards us. But the Parties we had sent out, soon informed us, that they were marching another considerable Body on our Left, two Miles to the Eastward of us, under Covert of some rising Grounds. When his Grace observed, that the first Body, instead of advancing directly to us, turned up from the lower Part of the Moor, towards the Heights thereof, and that the Enemy design'd, while their Right attack'd us in Front, their

Left should take us in Flank, he chang'd the Disposition of his Army, march'd, and gain'd the Heights by which Means our Flanks being secured, the Duke about 11 a Clock, attack'd the Left of the Enemy, in less than half an Hour put them into Disorder, and forc'd about 5000 of them to quit the Field of Battle pursuing them for 3 Miles together to the River Allan, where many of those who had escap'd Slaughter in the Flight, were drowned.

During this, a Body of Highlanders of the Enemies Right, falling suddenly upon Morrison's, Orrery's and Clayton's Regiments, whilst they were in some Disorder, by changing of their Ground, broke quite thro' them ; but our Dragoons charging vigorously, gave Time to those Regiments to retire in good Order with their Artillery towards Stirling. Here it is worthy of Remark, that tho' the Western Clans, and Restoration Regiment being the Flower of Mar's Army, compos'd this Right Wing, and tho' he himself, General Hamilton, General Gordon, Glengarie and other Heroes were there, yet they neither attempted to disturb our Left in their Retreat, nor to Charge our Right in the Rear ; but retiring to the Top of a Hill, look'd on, whilst their Left was cut to Pieces, by a Body of Troops making little more than a Third Part of their own Number.

My Lord Duke being returned from the Pursuit towards Dumblain, halted there, and dispatch'd Orders to his Left Wing to return and join him, which they accordingly did, and the Army lay under Arms all Night, intending by break of Day next Morning, to go in Quest of the Body of the Enemy, which when Night came on, stood intire upon the Hill, about a Mile from his Grace : But early in the Morning he got Intelligence that they made their Escape under Favour of the Night, taking their Rout in a disorderly manner towards Perth, whereupon his Grace being in Want of Provisions, considering the Fatigue his Troops had undergone, and hearing of no Enemy within 5 Miles of him, return'd to Stirling to refresh his Troops, and wait for further Accounts of the Enemy.

Yesterday thirteen Colours, one Standard, 3 Pieces of Brass, and one Piece of Iron Cannon, with 5 covered Waggons taken from the Enemy, were brought in hither, as will be to Morrow, another Piece of Cannon, which could not be brought sooner, by Reason of the Carriage being broke ; Huntly's, Tullibardine's, Panmure's, Mar's and Logie Drummond's Colours, are of the Number.

Herewith you have a List of 83 Prisoners, who are for the most

Part wounded; Panmure was taken, but being desperately wounded, was left in a Cottage under the charge of a Dragoon, of which the Enemy being inform'd by the Country People, sent and carried him off in the Night. Strathmore, the Captain of Clan Ronald, Colonel Gordon Brother to Aboyn, and Mr. Mackenzie, Cousin to Seaforth, are among the slain; Fraserdale died this Morning at Dunblain; Appin is said to be kill'd; and the Prisoners say, Earl Marshal, who stood by his Standard when it was taken, has had the same Fate. We shall have a full Account of the kill'd and wounded on their Side, in a few Days: It is expected they will be pretty numerous, and for the most part Gentlemen, our Troops having in a great Measure neglected the common People; besides, they run so fast, we could hardly come up with them. ——— Robertson of Strowan, and many others were taken Prisoners, but found means of escaping during the Hurry of the Pursuit.

I send you likewise a List of those that are killed, wounded or missing of our Side; of the last I hope, several will be found to be alive, who were taken Prisoners on the Right, in the Beginning of the Action.

The Body of Rebels which broke through our Center, gave no Quarter, whereby the beforenamed 3 Regiments suffer'd most, and my Lord Forfar, who acted as Brigadier, and charg'd at the Head of Morison's Regiment, was barbarously butchered. My Lord Duke treated the Enemy after a quite different manner, offering Quarter to several Gentlemen undesired, and giving it to all that asked; and particularly his Grace parried 3 Strokes of a broad Sword, aimed by a Dragoon at a Gentleman who was wounded, and begged Quarter. My Lord Islay has 2 Wounds, one thro' the right Arm, near the Shoulder, and another on the upper part of the right Side, neither of which are dangerous, his Lordship resting well, and being free of a Fever. May God preserve so precious a Life for the Benefit of his Country; should he die, it would be an irreparable Loss. Our Troops who are very hearty, and desirous of meeting the Rebels a second Time, are canton'd in this Town and the Neighbouring Villages. I had almost omitted to tell you, That the Soldiers returned hither loaded with Booty. What further occurs shall be imparted you, by,

SIR, Your, *&c.*

A L I S T of the Officers and Soldiers, kill'd and wounded in the Battle of Sherriff-Moor, *on the side of the Government.*

Of Portmore's Regiment, Capt. Robertson had one of the Fingers of his left Hand broke with a Shot, and a Quarter-Master wounded on the Breast, but not dangerous, 2 Dragoons killed, and 4 wounded. Of Evan's, Capt. Farrar his Thigh-bone broke, a Cornet and a few private Men killed, and Col. Hawley shot, and the Bone bruised in his Shoulder, but there are very good hopes of his Recovery. The Lord Forfar was shot in the Knee, and cut in the Head, and received 10 or 12 Strokes after he had got Quarter, from the Rebels: He is in very great Danger of his Life. Of his Regiment, Ensign Branch, and 8 private Men killed. Of Wightman's, Ensign Mark wounded, 2 Grenadiers, and 2 or 3 Men killed. Of Shanon's, Capt. Arnot killed, and 5 or 6 Men killed and wounded. These, with a Squadron of Stair's, were the Troops that were upon the Right, and continued with the Duke of Argyle, and beat the Rebels. Of Morison's Regiment, Lieut. Coll. Hammers, 2 Captains, 4 Lieutenants, and 3 Ensigns missing, and a good many private Men. Of Montague's, Lieut. Coll. Laurance, Capt. Umbell, Capt. Bernard are missing, a Lieutenant wounded, and a good many private Men killed. Of Clayton's Regiment, Capt. Rarlo killed. Of the Fusileers, Capt. Chieslie, Lieut. Hay, and Lieut. Mitchelson are missing, and said to be taken, and Capt. Urquhart wounded. Of Edgartoun's, Capt. Dancer bruised with a Horse, and a few private Men killed.

A particular L I S T of the Gentlemen Prisoners that came to the Castle of Stirling, *the 14th of November*, 1715.

LOrd Strathallen, Barrowfield, Logie Drummond, Mr. Murray of Auchtertyre, Mr Tho. Drummond, Brother, to the Visc. of Strathallen, Mr. Drummond of Drumquhany, Capt. Wm. Creighton, Mr John Ross, Son to the Archbishop of St. Andrews, Mr Nairne of Baldwale, Mr. Wm. Hay, John Gordon Captain, Wm. Forbes Lieut. Archibald Fothringhame, Lieut. Alex. Garrioch Ensign, James Carnegie Surgeon, Nicol, Donalson Ensign, Alex. Steuart of Innerslawie, Forrester to the Duke of Athol, Neil M. Glasson, Chamberlain to the Duke of Athol, James Steuart Lieut., William Adamson Lieut., John Robertson Lieut., James Gordon Surgeon, David Gardin Captain of Panmure's Regiment, Kenneth Mackenzie, Nephew to Sir Alex. Mackenzie of Coull, Cha. Gardin of Bittistern,

John M. Lean Adjutant to Colonel Mackenzy's Regiment, Colin Mackenzie of Kildin, Capt. of Fairnbonie's Regiments, Mr John Rattray, Mr. Peter Steuart, Mr. George Taylor, Mr James Lyon, Mr. Auchterlony, Lewis Cramond, Wm. Steuart, Geor. Mear, Hector M'Lean, Alex. Mill, John M'Intosh, Rob. M'Intosh, Hugh Calder, James Innes, Donald M'Pherson, John Morgan, Donald Robertson, Rob. Menzies, Wm. Menzies, John Menzies, Wm. Menzies, Wm. Steuart, Alex. M'Lachlan, Patrick Campbell, Hugh M'Raw, Donald M'Raw, Christopher M'Rae, John Lisley, James Edgar, James Mooday, James Mill, John Gordon, Donald M'Murrie, Murdoch M'Pherson, Alex. Cameron, Donald M'Nauchite, Ewan M'Lachlan, Ewan M'Donald, Donald Robertson, James Keoch, Tho. Robertson, Alexander Morison, Andrew Jamieson, Rob. Miller, Adam Grinfell, Angus Steuart, John Robertson, Duncan M'Intosh, James Peddie John Forbes, Alex. Steuart, Donald Mitchel, Francis Finlay, John Cattinach, John Ritchie, Merchant in Edinburgh, Capt. Char. Chalmers, late of the Foot Guards, one of Mar's Majors.

Before we proceed any further, we must now give an Account of the Affairs of

IRELAND.

Dublin, Nov. 3. The Duke of Grafton and the Earl of Galway, Lords Justices of this Kingdom, arrived here on Tuesday last about 10 in the Morning. The Earl of Galway having the Gout went privately to the Castle. The Duke of Grafton, at his landing, was met by four of the Privy-Council, deputed from the Board who were assembled upon this Occasion. His Grace, with Two of the Lords of the Council, and one of the Secretaries, went into the Archbishop of Dublin's Coach, which with several other Coaches of the Nobility, and Persons of Rank, were sent to attend their Excellencies, and proceeded from Ring's End to the Castle, being attended by the State Trumpets, and by a Troop of Horse, the Sheriffs riding on each side of the Coach, which was followed by a long Train of other Coaches; the Streets were lined by the Regiments of Foot quartered here, and by the City Militia, and crowded with Spectactors. At Stevens Green the Duke was complimented by the Lord Mayor, Recorder, and the rest of the Corporation in their Formalities. Being come to the Castle, their Excellencies went up to the Council Chamber, where the late Lords Justices and the Council were sitting. The New Commission being read, and Lords Justices sworn, the

Sword was delivered to them, and they took their Places at the Board, and the Possession of the Government. Yesterday their Excellencies were attended by the City, in whose Name the Recorder made a very handsome Speech, and this Day by the University.

Dublin, Nov. 14. On the 12th Instant the Parliament of this Kingdom met. The Lords Justices went with the usual solemnity to the House of Peers, where their Excellencies being seated in Two Chairs placed on each side of the Throne, unanimously chose William Connolly, Esq., and going up again to the House of Peers, presented him to the Lords Justices, who approved of him. Then their Excellencies made the following Speech to both Houses.

My Lords and Gentlemen.

HIS Majesty having been pleased to appoint us Justices and Governors of this his Kingdom of Ireland, we are glad to meet you in Parliament, where you will have an Opportunity of concerting such Measures as may tend to the Public Welfare.

We heartily congratulate with you upon the King's most happy Accession to the Throne, being fully perswaded, that you have a due Sense of God's Mercy in this Act of His Divine Providence, which affords us so fair a Prospect of becoming a flourishing People under the Reign of a Prince whose Wisdom, Justice and Clemency, intitle him to the Love and Obedience of his Subjects at home, as His Resolution and strict Observance of Treaties have gain'd Him the Esteem of his Allies Abroad.

We are commanded by his Majesty to assure you, that he will inviolably preserve our excellent Constitution both in Church and State, the Continuance of which Blessing is farther secured to us by the eminent Vertues of the Prince of Wales, and by so numerous an Issue as God hath bestow'd upod his Royal Highness.

It is with no small Satisfaction, that we observe the Calm which this Kingdom, heretofore the Scene of so many Rebellions, at present enjoys; whilst the traiterous Enemies to the King, and to our happy Establishment, discouraged by your early and steady Zeal for the Protestant Succession, have thought fit to change the Place of Action, and attempt elsewhere to disturb his Majesty's Government, whose undoubted Right to the Crown of these Realms is founded on the Laws of the Land, and secured by the Affections of his People assembled in Parliament.

So desperate and wicked a Design must end in the Confusion of the Persons concerned in it, and fix his Majesty's Throne upon a surer Foundation, by distinguishing the true Friends to his Royal Person and Government, from the Abettors of Popery and Slavery: Yet your Conduct will not be agreeable to your accustomed Prudence, if you neglect to put your selves in the best Posture of Defence upon this Occasion; for which Purpose his Majesty has caused Arms to be delivered out of his Stores to the Militia, and has order'd an Addition to be made to each Company remaining in this Kingdom, till such Time as he can replace those Regiments which the Necessity of his Affairs has obliged him at present to draw from hence, to suppress the Rebels in Great Britain, wherein your Safety is equally concerned with that of his other Subjects.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

We have ordered a State of the publick Accounts, together with the Charge of the Establishment, to be laid before you in the clearest and plainest Light, by which you will judge what Supplies will be wanting to carry on the Service, and to defray such Expences as you may think proper for your own Security: Nor can we in the least doubt, after so many Proofs of your Affection to His Majesty, but you will cheerfully contribute the necessary Aids for the Support of a Government, whose Welfare is inseparable from your own.

You may depend upon a just and frugal Application of the Money given, to the Purposes for which you design it.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

We have his Majesty's Orders to acquaint you, that he will readily consent to such good Laws as may conduce to make you an easy and a happy People; and you may be assured, we shall always concur with you in every Thing that may be advantagious to the Kingdom, for which End we shall willingly receive your Advice.

We must recommend to you in the present Conjuncture all reasonable Dispatch in your Proceedings, and such Unanimity in your Resolutions, as may once more put an End to all other Distinctions in Ireland, but that of Protestant and Papist.

To the KING's most Excellent Majesty.

The humble ADDRESS of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament assembled.

May it please your Majesty,

WE Your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal Subjects the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament assembled, lay hold

of this first Opportunity humbly to beg Leave to approach Your Sacred Person, to Congratulate Your Majesty's happy Accession to the Throne of Your Ancestors.

We chearfully, and from the Bottom of our Hearts, acknowledge Your Majesty to have a Rightful and Lawful Title to the Crown of these Realms, and with unfeigned Lips render to Almighty God our humble and hearty Thanks for the great and inestimable Blessing of bringing Your Majesty to reign over us, notwithstanding the malicious Designs and evil Attempts of too many, as we have just Cause to believe, to disappoint the Succession of Your Majesty and Your Royal Family.

The gracious Assurances given us from the Throne, That your Majesty will inviolably preserve our excellent Constitution in Church and State, and the great Care that hath been taken by Your Majesty to preserve to us the full and free Enjoyment of all our Religious and Civil Rights, fill our hearts with the deepest Sense of Duty and Gratitude to Your Majesty.

At this critical Time of Danger we look upon Your Majesty (under G O D) as our Great Deliverer and Preserver. We doubt not but that the signal Hand of Providence which has conducted Your Majesty safe to the Throne, and endowed You with all those Royal Vertues which are necessary to support and adorn it, will establish You and Your Royal Posterity thereon, and soon reduce to Obedience the stubborn and rebellious Spirits of those ungrateful Persons, whom neither the strictest Obligations of Oaths, nor the Laws of G O D or Man, could restrain within the Bounds of their Allegiance.

And we humbly crave Leave to assure Your Majesty, That we will, to the utmost of our Power, maintain, support, and defend Your Majesty in Your most Rightful Possession of the Imperial Crown of these Realms against the Pretender and all his Open and Secret Abettors; and that we shall at all Times earnestly supplicate at the Throne of Grace, That your Enemies may be cloathed with Shame, and that upon Your Majesty's Head, and that of Your Royal Issue, the Crown may for ever flourish.

To the KING's most Excellent Majesty.

The humble A D D R E S S of the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses in Parliament Assembled,

Dread Sovereign,

WE Your Majesty's most Dutiful and Loyal Subjects the Commons of Ireland in Parliament Assembled, do with

the greatest Pleasure embrace this First Opportunity of approaching your Sacred Person with Hearts entirely devoted to your Service, and unfeignedly thankful for your Majesty's happy aud seasonable Accesion to the Throne of your Ancestors, notwithstanding the unwearied Endeavours of Your Majesty's and our Enemies to disappoint your Succession.

As your faithful Commons are in a particular manner obliged to return your Majesty their humble and sincere Thanks for the tender Regard which you have exprest for the Welfare and Security of this Kingdom, in removing those wicked Ministers who by their Arbitrary and Illegal Proceedings had brought the Protestant Interest and our Liberties into the greatest Danger: So are they equally sensible of your Majesty's Goodness in placing the Administration in the Hands of our present Governors, who have on all Occasions distinguish'd themselves by their Zeal for your Majesty's Succession, and the true Interest of their Country.

When we consider the Justice and Mildness of your Majesty's Reign, and your steady Resolution to maintain the Constitution in Church and State, it is with the utmost Concern we find this Country has been so Unfortunate as to give Birth to James Butler late Duke of Ormond, a Person who in despight of his Allegiance and the Obligations of repeated Oaths, has been one of the chief Authors and Fomenters of the Wicked and Unnatural Rebellion now begun in Great Britain. And your Faithful Commons think they should be wanting to that Duty which they owe to your Majesty, their only Rightful and Lawful Sovereign, if they forbore on this Occasion to express their highest Indignation and Resentment against the Principles and Practices of those who have any way contributed to so impious a Design, and their firm Resolution to support and defend your Majesty's Undoubted Title to the Crown of these Realms against the Pretender, and all those who openly or secretly adhere to him.

We cannot sufficiently express our Detestation and Abhorrence of this Attempt, when we find it levelled at the utter Extirpation of your Majesty's Royal Family, and intended to deprive us and our Posterity of the Blessings we have a Prospect of enjoying under his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, from whose eminent Virtues and the Numerous Issue which G O D has been pleas'd to bestow on him, we may reasonably expect the long Continuance of that Happiness which we now possess under your Majesty's Government.

And that nothing may be wanting on our Parts, which may any way contribute towards rendring your Majesty's Administration easie and glorious, we intreat your Majesty to be assured, that we will with the utmost Chearfulness grant such Supplies as shall at this Juncture be thought necessary to support your Establishment with Honour.

To which their Excellencies the Lords Justices were pleased to return the following ANSWER.

Gentlemen,

WE shall not fail to lay your Loyal Address before his Majesty, who no doubt will be well pleas'd to observe, that the Assurances of your Affection and Fidelity to his Royal Person and Government, are equal to the Zeal which you have formerly shewn for his Succession.

To their Excellencies the Lords Justices.

The Humble ADDRESS *of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament Assembled.*

May it please your Excellencies,

WE the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament assembled, with great Satisfaction heard the many Expressions of his Majesty's Gracious Intentions towards his faithful Subjects of this Kingdom, contained in your Excellencies Speech in the House of Peers at the opening of this Parliament.

Nothing is of equal Concern to us with the Preservation of our most excellent Constitution in Church and State, nothing can more endear his Majesty's Person and Government to us, than the many Proofs which he has already given of his Care for it, and the frequent Declarations made by his Majesty, That he will always inviolably Maintain and Support it.

These gracious instances of his Piety and Goodness, and the Benefits which redound to this Nation from his Majesty's Care and Protection of our Religious and Civil Rights, call for all Returns which Loyal and Grateful Subjects can make to the best of Princes, for a ready and quiet Submission to his mild and gentle Government, a cheerful Disposition to support and make easy his Administration of the Publick Affairs, and a firm Resolution to Defend his Majesty's Rightful and Lawful Title to the Crown of these Realms, against the Pretender and all his Adherents and Abettors.

And as the wicked Rebellion which now rages in his Majesty's

Kingdom of Great Britain, shews, That the Enemies of our Peace are joyned together in the Bands of Iniquity, we promise to use our utmost Endeavours to unite and Confirm all his Majesty's Subjects of this Realm, in their Duty to support his Majesty's Title and Government, and to give his Majesty all further proofs of the strongest Affection and Fidelity to his Sacred Person and Authority.

We shall ever acknowledge it as a great Instance of his Majesty's Affection to and Care of this his Kingdom, that he has been pleased to make us happy in sending persons every way so well qualified as your Excellencies are to execute so high a Trust; and we assure your Excellencies, That we will give the utmost Dispatch to the Publick Business, and retain a grateful Sense of your Excellencies Readiness expressed in your Speech, to concur with us in every Thing that may be advantagious to this Kingdom: What Advice we shall at any Time offer shall be with that Duty that is owing to so Good and Gracious a King as we are blessed with, and with that Respect that is due to such Wise and Vigilant Governours.

Their Excellencies the Lords Justices ANSWER.

My LORDS,

WE are glad to find the Assurances we have given your Lordships in his Majesty's Name are so acceptable to you, and we are obliged to your Lordships for your Resolution to support our Administration; and our best Endeavours shall never be wanting to promote the Welfare of this Kingdom.

To their Excellencies the Lord Justices General and General Governors of *Ireland.*

The humble Address of the Knights, Citizens and Burgesses in Parliament assembled.

May it please your Excellencies,

WE His Majesty's most dutiful and loyal Subjects the Commons of Ireland in Parliament assembled, beg Leave to attend your Excellencies with our humble Thanks for your Speech to both Houses of Parliament.

The Assurances your Excellencies having given us of his Majesty's Resolution inviolably to preserve our Constitution in Church and State, claim the most grateful Acknowledgments which a dutiful and affectionate People can make to the best of Princes, who in Addition to the many Favours already conferr'd on his Protestant subjects of

this Kingdom, has been pleas'd in a particular Manner to consult their Happiness and Security by committing (at this critical Juncture) the Government thereof to your Excellencies.

The Manner in which your Excellencies are pleas'd to take Notice of the early and steady Zeal shewn by his Majesty's Protestant Subjects of this Kingdom for his Succession when most in Danger, gives us the greatest Pleasure and Satisfaction, having from thence Reason to hope the Endeavours used by the Commons in the last Parliament to support that Succession against the Pretender and his Abettors, have not been unknown or unacceptable to our gracious Sovereign: And when we consider the Happiness which every Part of his Dominions enjoys under his auspicious Reign our Surprize and Indignation are equally rais'd, to think there can a Set of Men be found among us so desperately wicked, as to attempt to deprive us of so inestimable a Blessing.

We have a just Sence of His Majesty's Goodness, in causing Arms to be deliver'd out of the Stores for the Militia, which we beg your Excellencies to be assur'd shall be employ'd in the Preservation of his Title and Government, and that we will consider of what may be further necessary to put our selves in the best Posture of Defence.

Your Excellencies may depend on our giving such Dispatch to the Publick Business as the Necessity of Affairs at present require, that we will grant such Supplies as shall be wanting to support his Majesty's Establishment with Honour, and readily concur in whatever else may be thought requisite to render your Administration easie.

Their Excellencies the Lords Justices ANSWER.

Gentlemen,

'WE return you our hearty Thanks for the Assurances you give 'us of supporting the Establishment with Honour, and for 'the Promise of your best Endeavours to render our Administration 'easie. You may depend upon it, we have no other View but that 'of Promoting his Majesty's Service and the Interest of this Kingdom.'

Dublin, Nov. 19. On the 15th the House of Commons of this Kingdom, ordered Heads to be brought in of a Bill to attaint James Butler late Duke of Ormond of High Treason, and to vest his Estate in the Crown and a Clause to be inserted in it, for giving a Reward to any Person who shall apprehend the said James Butler, in case he attempts to Land in any part of this Kingdom. The House likewise ordered Heads to be brought in of a Bill for the further Security of

his Majesty's Person and Government, and for extinguishing the Hopes of the pretended Prince of Wales, and his open and secret Abettors. And also Resolved, Nemine Contradicente, That whoever advis'd the late Queen to prorogue the late Parliament in this Kingdom, at a Time when a Bill to attaint the Pretender was under the Consideration of the House of Commons, was an Enemy to the Succession as by Law Establish'd in the Illustrious House of Hanover, to the Protestant Interest of this Kingdom, and a Favourer of the Pretender and Popery. On the 16th the House read thrice, and pass'd, Nemine Contradicente, a Bill sent down to them from the Lords, intitled, An Act for Recognizing His Majesty's Title to the Throne of Great Britain, France, and Ireland.

Dublin, Nov. 25. On the 21st, the Lords Justices came to the House of Peers, with the usual Solemnity, and the Commons being sent for thither, their Excellencies gave the Royal Assent to.

An Act for granting to his Majesty an Additional Duty on Beer, Ale, Strong Waters, Tobacco, *and other Goods and Merchandise.*

An Act for Recognising his Majesty's Title to the Thrones of Great Britain, France, *and* Ireland.

Dublin, Nov. 26. Mr. Maxwell reported from the Committee of the whole House, appointed to consider the State of the Nation, that they had come to several Resolutions, which were read, and are as follow, viz.

Resolved, That by the Laws of Land and the Constant uninterrupted Usage of the Court of the King's Bench, all Juries in Criminal Cases ought to be nominated and returned by the Sheriff or Sheriffs only, unless there be a legal Challenge to his or their making such Return.

Resolved, That it is the Opinion of this Committee, that the Rule made in the Court of Queen's-Bench in the Case of Dudley Moor, Esq. whereby the Clerk of the Crown was required to strike a Jury for his Tryal, was Unprecedented, Arbitrary, and Illegal, and a high Invasion of the Rights and Liberties of the Subjects of Ireland.

Resolved, That it is the Opinion of this Committee, That Sir Richard Cox, late Lord Chief Justice of the said Court, Thomas Coote, Esq. late One of the Justices of the Queen's-Bench and Richard Nutley, Esq. late One of the Justices of the Queen's-Bench, acted Partially, Arbitrarily, Illegally, and contrary to their Oath and Duty of Judges.

Resolved, That Philip Savage, Esq. then Clerk of the Crown for the Queen's-Bench, by naming a Jury in the Case of Dudley Moor, Esq. pursuant to the said Rule, wherein there were several Persons in Employments under the Crown, and others who had no Freeholds, acted Partially, Maliciously and Illegally.

To which Resolutions the Question being severally put, the House did agree.

Mr. Forth reported from the Grand Committee, to whom Heads of a Bill to attaint the Pretender, and all his Adherents, and to give a Reward of 50000 l. Sterling to any Person who shall seize and secure the said Pretender, if he lands or attempts to land in Ireland, were committed, that they had gone through the same, and the House agreed thereto with Amendments.

Ordered, That Mr. Forth attend their Excellencies the Lords Justices with the said Heads of a Bill, and desire the same may be transmitted to Great Britain in due Form.

Wednesday 30th. Mr. Forth reported from the Committee appointed to inquire what Addresses were sent to her late Majesty from several Counties and Towns of Ireland, in Opposition to the Address of the late House of Commons for removing Sir Constantine Phipps from his Imployment, and by whom such Addresses were signed, the Matter as the same appeared to them, and that they had thereupon come to a Resolution, which was read and agreed to by the House, with an Amendment, and is as follows, viz.

Resolved, That it is the Opinion of the Committee, That any Commoner, who by Address or otherwise, has traduc'd and misrepresented the Address of the House of Commons to her late Majesty for removing Sir Constantine Phipps, is guilty of a high Breach of Privilege, destructive to the Rights and Liberties of the Commons of Ireland.

Mr. Forth further acquainted the House, that the Committee observing that many of the Addresses mentioned in the said Report were signed by Members of this House, the Committee thought not fit to come to any Resolution concerning them.

Resolved *Nemine Contradicente*, That the several Paragraphs taken out of the Addresses mentioned in the said Report are notoriously false, scandalous and malicious, as endeavouring highly to reflect on the Honour of the late House of Commons, and obtained by a Set of Sheriffs and Grand Jurors returned for that Purpose.

Resolved, That the Address of the House of Commons to her late Majesty for removing Sir Constantine Phipps from his Place of Lord Chancellor, was at that time necessary to secure the Protestant Succession and Interest of the Kingdom, to both which he was an inveterate Enemy.

Ordered, That such Members of the House who signed these said Addresses, and are now present, be called upon in their Places by Mr. Speaker to give their Reasons for signing the same.

Mr. Beauchamp being accordingly called upon by Mr Speaker, stood up in his Place, confess'd he had sign'd the Address of the County of Catherlogh, that he was sorry for his Fault, and humbly begg'd Pardon of the House.

Ordered, that the said Submission be accepted as a Satisfaction to the House.

Mr Hans Hamilton, Mr Stanton, Collonel Henry Edgworth, Mr Ludlow, Mr Henry Bingham, Mr Haughton and Mr Lehust, who had signed Addresses of this Nature, confess'd likewise that they were sorry for their Fault, humbly begg'd Pardon of the House, and their Submission was also accepted as Satisfaction to the House. Several other Members of the House not then present, who had signed the said Addresses, were ordered to attend in their Places this Day Seven-night, and several other Gentlemen who were Members of the late House, and are not Members of this House, and signed the said Addresses, are ordered to attend this House on Monday Seven-night.

These Votes of the House of Commons of Ireland show that they will not be behind-hand with those of Great-Britain in tracing out the Original Causes of the Interest of the Pretender in these Kingdoms, in order to punish such who having fail'd in their Attempt of preventing the Accession of King George to the Crown, would now dethrone him by an open Rebellion in favour of the Pretender. Strange Delusion, which will scarce be believed upon the Faith of History, that so many Protestants should join with Papists for bringing in a Popish Pretender, and endeavour to embroil their Country in a Civil War.

Thanks be to God, their Design is defeated; we have already observ'd, that the Rebellion is suppressed in England; that Ireland cannot be more zealous for King George; and as for Scotland it appears, that altho' the Battle of Dumblain or Sheriff Muir was not Decisive, yet the Forces of the Rebels were so much broken thereby,

and their Chiefs were so much discouraged to see that they could not make head against the King's Forces tho' 5 to one, that the Earl of Mar and the Marquis of Huntley have sent separately Proposals of Submission to the Duke of Argyle, and would think themselves very happy, if they could but obtain to live the rest of their Days in Exile alone, and enjoy their Estates. We hope we shall be able to give a further Account in our next of all these Affairs, but in the mean time we must take Notice in a few Words of the Preparations that are made for reducing the Scotch Rebels, if they do not prevent their Ruin by a timely Submission.

We told you in our former that 3000 Men, part of the Dutch Auxiliary Troops were arrived in the River, and that the other 3000 were sailed to the North; but the Winds being contrary, most of them were forc'd to put into Harwich, and others in some other Harbours, as Yarmouth and the Humber; and those Troops being not used to the Sea, suffer'd so very much, that they desired to land, and march where-ever the King should think fit, rather than continue any longer at Sea. Their Request being very reasonable, and the Weather being at this time of the Year very uncertain and tempestuous, the said Troops were ordered to march for Scotland. Accordingly those which were come to Deptford, begun their March the 23rd of November, and were follow'd by those landed at Harwich and other Parts; and their March is so regulated, that they will arrive at Edinburgh much about the same time, where they will find about 400 Men of their Comrades already arriv'd, being the last that sail'd from Ostend.

A fine Train of Artillery is shipp'd off and sent for Scotland for this Expedition, and as the first Enterprize is to dislodge the Rebels from Perth, several Ingineers are order'd to repair to Stirling with all speed. Besides the Dutch Auxiliaries, which are as fine Troops as ever were seen, there are four Regiments of English Dragoons order'd to march for Scotland, whither Lieutenant-General Cadogan is gone to command under the Duke of Argyle.

We told you in our former that the Earl of Sutherland being not strong enough to penetrate into the Country of the Rebels, was returned into his own; but his Lordship being reinforced by some Clans in his Neighbourhood, well affected to his Majesty, march'd again towards Inverness, of which place he made himself Master the 10th of November, the Garrison of the Rebels having first quitted the Town, and afterwards the Castle in the Night. That

Post being of great Importance for cutting off the Communication of the Rebellious Clans, the Earl of Sutherland has given Orders to fortify the same with all possible Expedition, and in the mean time he is assembling all the Friends of the Government in those Parts, in order to march and attack the Rebels on the North-side, while the King's Forces will attack them on the side of Perth. These are in a few Words the Dispositions made for suppressing the Rebellion in Scotland, which we have all the Reason in the World to believe near an End, and that the Efforts made by the Enemies of our Constitution of a Popish Pretender, will but serve to secure more and more a Protestant King on his Throne, and our Civil and Religious Liberties against all future Incroachments.

His Majesty has been pleas'd to promote the Earl of Sutherland, and Charles Wills, Esq. to the Rank of Lieutenant-Generals of his Forces.

POSTCRIPT.

Whitehall, Decemb. 10.

YEsterday the Principal Rebels taken at Preston, with their Servants, were brought to London, and committed Prisoners to the Tower, the Marshalsea, Newgate, and the Fleet. There was a vast Concourse of People along the Road from Highgate, and in the Streets through which they passed; who gave most remarkable Demonstrations of their Abhorrence of this Rebellion, and of their Loyalty to his Majesty; the Names of the Chief of the said Prisoners are as follows.

The Earl of Derwentwater, a Papist; the Lord Widdrington, a Papist; the Earl of Nithsdale, a Papist; the Earl of Winton; the Earl of Carnwath; Viscount Kenmure; Lord Nairn; The Master of Nairn; Basil Hamilton of Baldoon; Edward Howard, Brother of the Duke of Norfolk, a Papist; Charles Ratcliff, Brother of the Earl of Derwentwater, a Papist; Charles Widdrington, Peregrine Widdrington, Brothers of the Lord Widdrington, Papists.

Those of Northumberland, *most of them Papists, are,* James Swinburn, Edward Swinburn, Brothers of Sir William Swinburn of Capheston; Thomas Errington; John Clavering of Caliley; Philip Hodgson of Tene; ———Thornton of Netherwitten; ———Riddle, Jun. of Swinburne; Will Ord. of Warkworth-Grange: George Gibson, Jun. of Stornecraft; Thomas Forster, Jun. of Etherstone; ———

Hall, of Otterburne ; William Shaftoe of Bavington ; John Shaftoe his Son.

Robert Cotton of Geding, in Huntingdonshire ; John Cotton his Son ; Lionel Walden of Huntingdon ; Robert Pullen ; Richard Gascoyne ; George Budden ; Charles Woogan ; Nicholas Woogan ; James Talbot ; Robert Talbot ; Henry Oxborough. Sir Francis Anderton of Lostock, a Papist ; Ralph Standish, of Standish, a Papist ; Richard Townley of Townley, a Papist ; ———Tynsley of Lodge, a Papist ; ———Dalton of Thurnham, a Papist ; Tho. Butler of Rawcliff, a Papist ; ———Layburn of Nattsby, a Papist ; Tho. Walton of Windor, a Papist ; Gabr. Hesket of Whitehill, a Papist ; Cuthbert Heskit his Son, a Papist ; Albert Hodgson of Leighton, a Papist ; ———Tunstall.

SCOTS.

James Dalyel, Uncle to the Earl of Carnwarth ; Edmund Maxwell of Garnfallock ; William Grierson of Lag ; Walter Riddell of Glen Riddell ; Charles Maxwell of Cowhill ; Andrew Cassie of Kirk-house ; Matthew Harescanes ; Robert M'Lellan of Bascob ; John Maxwell of Steilton ; William Irving ; John Paterson of Preston-hall ; James Paterson his Brother ; Will. Anderson ; Will. Maitland ; Sir Will. Cockburn ; John Masterton ; Alexander Deans ; Mark Carss of Cockpen ; Alexander Straton ; Alexander Foulis of Ratha ; William Dundass ; David Hall ; George Skinner ; William Dalmarhoy of Ravelrig ; Alexander Congalton ; Alexander Dalmarhoy ; William Dalmarhoy, Sons of Sir Alexander Dalmarhoy ; Francis Congalton ; Robert Heburn of Keith ; John Heburn his Son ; George Seton of Barns ; Andrew Pitcairn ; James Nicolson ; Thomas Anderson of Whitbrugh ; George Seton of Garleton ; William Dundass of Airth ; David Bruce of Kinncurd ; Alexander Miln of Newmill ; James Cornwall of Bowhard ; Alexander Foster of Carssbony ; Will. Mackintosh of Borlam ; John Hamilton of Pumpherston ; Alexander Murray of Stenhope ; James Home of Aiton ; John Cunningham of Bogendgrein ; Alexander Craw of Keirgh-head ; George Home of Wedderburn ; Goorge Home his Son ; George Home of Whitfield ; Alexander Home his Son ; George Winraham of Eymouth ; John Winraham his Son ; William Maxwell of Munches ; George Maxwell his Brother ; Robert Caruthers of Ramlescales ; Walter Scot of Wool ; George Rutherford of Farington ; William Scot ; Gilbert Grierson.

The rest are mostly Highland Officers, and Servants of the abovenamed Gentlemen.

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HAving promised a further Account of the Pretender in our Article from Great-Britain, we wish we could be as particular as to give the Particulars of his Arrival, and what has been transacted, since; but our Accounts from Edinburgh are so imperfect, and generally so false, that we shall content our selves to observe, that all Advices agree, That he landed about Aberdeen, and from thence came to Dundee and Perth, where he made his publick Entry with 2 or 300 Horse, and the Chiefs of his Partisans. They add, that he was shortly to be Crown'd at Scoon, but 'tis believ'd, the March of the King's Forces will disturb that Rebellious Solemnity. The Duke of Argyle expected only a Train of Artillery, and had made the necessary Dispositions for marching the 20th of January, to besiege Perth. In the mean time his Troops have secured several Posts in the County of Fife, which has been abandoned by the Rebels, who having fortify'd Perth and Dunkell, seem resolved to make a Stand in those Places, and it is to be wish'd, they persist in that Resolution, and that the Pretender, to encourage his Men, would defend one of those Places in Person, which would be the shortest way to put an end to this Rebellion.

A New Declaration of the Pretender has been publish'd in Scotland by his Friends, and dispers'd in England by his Adherents, and more openly by some Writers; but as we are satisfy'd, that the Design of the Pretender in issuing out that Manifesto, was, that it should be made publick in Great Britain, we desire our Readers to excuse us if we do not insert it at this time.

We have had various Reports of an Engagement between the Earl of Sutherland, and the Rebels under the Command of the Earl of Seaforth and the Marquis of Huntly, but they appear without any Foundation; and the last certain Advices say, That the Earl of Sutherland continues at Inverness to defend that important Pass, which cuts off the Communication of the Rebels with some clans in that Part.

POSTSCRIPT.

Westminster, January the 9th, 1716.

HIS Majesty came this Day to the House of Peers, and was pleas'd to make the following most Gracious Speech to both Houses.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THE Zeal and Affection to My Government, and the Vigilant Care for the Safety of the Nation, which you have shewn in

your respective Counties, have not only fully Answered my Expectations, but give me Assurances that you are Met together, resolved to Act with a Spirit becoming a Time of Common Danger, and with such a Vigour as will End in the Confusion of all those who have Openly Engaged in this Rebellion, and in the Shame and Reproach of such as by Secret and Malicious Insinuations have Fomented, or by an avowed Indifference Encouraged this Traiterous Enterprize.

It is, I doubt not, a great Satisfaction to you to have observed, That the Powers you Intrusted Me with for the Preservation of the Publick Safety, have been Employed in the most Proper and Effectual Manner, and made strictly Subservient to those Purposes only for which you Intended them; And you must have had the Pleasure to Reflect with Me, That as the Measures taken for Our Defence have been Just and Necessary, so it has Pleased the Divine Providence to Bless them with a Series of Suitable Success; And I cannot but take this Opportunity of doing Justice to the Officers and Soldiers of the Army, whose Brave and Faithful Discharge of their Duty has Disappointed Our Enemies, and Contributed so much to the Safety of the Nation.

I did hope, That the Detecting and Preventing the designed Insurrections in some Parts of the Kingdom, and the Defeating in others those who had taken up Arms against Me, would have put an End to this Rebellion; But it is Plain, that Our Enemies, Animated by some Secret Hopes of Assistance, are still Endeavouring to Support this Desperate Undertaking; And the Pretender, as I have reason to believe, is now Landed in Scotland.

It is however with Pleasure I can Acquaint you, That notwithstanding these Incestine Commotions, Great-Britain has, in some Measure Recovered its Influence and Reputation Abroad. The Treaty for Settling the Barrier for the Netherlands is now fully Concluded between the Emperor and the States-General under My Guarranty. The King of Spain has Agreed to a Treaty, by which that Valuable Branch of Our Commerce will be Delivered from the New Impositions and Hardships, to which it was Subjected by the late Treaties, and will stand Settled, for the future, on a Foot more Advantageous and Certain than it ever did in the most Flourishing Time of Any of My Predecessors; and the Treaty for Renewing all former Alliances between the Crown of Great-Britain and the States-General is brought very near to its Conclusion.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I must Rely on your Affection to Me, and your Care and Concern for the Safety of the Nation, to Grant Me such Supplies as may Enable Me to Restore and to Secure the Peace of the Kingdom; And I will Order Estimates of the Necessary Expences to be Laid before you.

Among the many Unavoidable Ill Consequences of this Rebellion, none Affects Me more Sensibly than that Extraordinary Burthen, which it has and must Create to My Faithful Subjects: To Ease them as far as lies in My Power, I take this first Opportunity of Declaring That I will freely give up all the Estates that shall become Forfeited to the Crown by this Rebellion, to be Applied towards Defraying the Extraordinary Expense incurr'd on this Occasion.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

It is matter of the greatest Uneasiness to Me, that the First Years of My Reign, the whole Course of which I wished to have Transmitted to Posterity Distinguished by the Fair and Endearing Marks of Peace and Clemency, should be Clouded and Overcast with so Unnatural a Rebellion; which, however Impotent and Unsuccessful a due Care may render it in all other Respects, does most sensibly Afflict me by the Calamities it has brought on Many of My Faithful Subjects, and by those indispensable Returns of Severity, which their Sufferings and the Publick Safety do most justly call for; Under this Concern My greatest Comfort is, that I cannot reproach My self with having given the least Provocation to that Spirit of Discontent and Calumny that has been let loose against Me, or the least Pretence for Kindling the Flame of this Rebellion.

Let those, whose Fatal Counsels laid the Foundation of all these Mischiefs, and those, whose Private Discontents and Disappointments, Disguised under false Pretences, have Betrayed great Numbers of Deluded People into their own Destruction, Answer for the Miseries in which they have Involved their Fellow-Subjects: I question not but that, with the Continuance of God's Blessing, who alone is able to Form Good out of Evil, and with the Cheerful Assistance of my Parliament, We shall in a short time see this Rebellion end, not only in Restoring the Tranquility of my Government, but in procuring a firm and lasting Establishment of that excellent Constitution in Church and State, which it was manifestly Designed to subvert; And that this open and flagrant Attempt in

Favour of Popery will Abolish all other Distinctions among Us, but of such as are Zealous Assertors of the Liberties of their Country, the Present Establishment, and the Protestant Religion; And of such as are Endeavouring to Subject the Nation to the Revenge and Tyranny of a Popish Pretender.

To which, both Houses of Parliament presented the following Addresses, January the 11th.

The humble ADDRESS of the Right Honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament Assembled. Presented January *the 11th.*

Most Gracious Sovereign,

WE Your Majesties most Dutiful and Loyal Subjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament Assembled, do Return our most Unfeigned Thanks to your Majesty for your most Gracious Speech from the Throne, and do with great Joy lay hold of this Opportunity to Congratulate your Majesty on the Successes with which it has pleased Almighty God to Bless Your Majesties Arms and Counsels against the Rebels.

We are so truly Sensible of the Happiness which the Nation enjoys under Your Majesties Government, that we should be wanting to our own Interest, as well as to the Duty we owe to your Majesty, did we not Exert our selves with the utmost Spirit and Vigour in the present Time of Danger, to the Confusion of all such as are either Actors or Abettors in the present Wicked and Unnatural Rebellion, and to the Reproach of those who affect to appear Lukewarm or Indifferent in the Cause of their King and Country.

Our Satisfaction in observing the Just and Wise Use of that Power, with which the Parliament Entrusted your Majesty in this great Conjuncture, can be equall'd by nothing but our Joy for those Remarkable Successes which have been the Natural Consequences of it.

We cannot sufficiently Praise the Fidelity and Bravery which your Army have shewn on this Occasion, and assure our selves, that all your Faithful Subjects, who are Influenced by the same Principles of Honour and Duty, will be as Active in their several Stations to Promote the Service of your Majesty, and the Safety of the Publick.

The Landing of the Pretender in Scotland will only serve to Animate this our Zeal for Your Majesty, but we doubt not but it will prove his last Effort for disturbing the Peace of your Majesties Reign.

We are highly Sensible of the Security and Honour which Redounds to the Nation by the Treaty for settling the Barrier in the Netherlands under your Majesties Guaranty and of the Advantages which will accrue to your Subjects by the Treaty of Commerce with Spain; and by the Negociations, which are now on foot, for the Renewing of all Alliances with the Ancient and Faithful Friends of this Kingdom, the States-General.

It is with equal Pleasure and Astonishment, that we see Your Majesty has been able, in a time of Intestine Troubles, to Recover in a great Measure the Reputation and Commerce of the British Nation, and that You have gained more Advantageous Terms of Trade for Your Subjects, than what were procured by any of Your Royal Predecessors, who had so much fairer Opportunities of Demanding them.

We want Words to Express our Gratitude to your Majesty for your Gracious and Unparallel'd Resolution to give up all the Estates, that shall become Forfeited by the Rebellion, to the Use of the Publick, and Promise our selves, that all Your Faithful Subjects will with great Cheerfulness do their Part towards Enabling You to Restore and Secure the Peace of the Kingdom, to which Your Majesty Contributes in so Generous a Manner, out of the Profits Inherent in your Crown and Royal Dignity.

That Endearing Tenderness and Clemency which Your Majesty Expresses towards all your Subjects, very much Aggravates the Guilt of those who have taken up Arms against so Good and Gracious a Sovereign ; And we cannot think, without the Utmost Horror, of those who Rebel against a Prince of so much Goodness, or Spread Falshoods, and Calumnies against your Sacred Person at the same Time that you are Studying to Advance their Welfare and Happiness.

We cannot desire a greater Instance of this your Majesties Affection to your People, than the Sense which your Majesty Expresses of those whose Evil Counsels laid the Foundation of all our Mischiefs, and whose Self-Interested Views have Deluded such Numbers of Unwary Men into their own Destruction.

We heartily pray Almighty God, That He may Grant Your Majesty a Long and Happy Reign over us, and Bless Your Endeavours with Success for the Procuring of a Firm and lasting Establishment of our Excellent Constitution in Church and State.

And as we shall always Oppose the Attempts of such Men as would subject the Nation to the Revenge and Tyranny of a Popish

Pretender; so we shall always Value, beyond any Honours or Titles we can Enjoy, the Character of being Faithful Subjects to Your Majesty, Zealous Assertors of the Liberties of our Country, the Present Establishment, and the Protestant Religion.

His MAJESTIES Most Gracious ANSWER.

My LORDS,

'I Thank you heartily for this dutiful and loyal Address; I depend entirely upon the Assurances you give Me; Shall ever steadily 'pursue such Measures as may best Support the Constitution in 'Church and State; And I doubt not but by the Blessing of God, 'and your Assistance, I shall defeat the Designs of our Enemies.'

The Humble ADDRESS of the House of Commons *to the* KING, *presented the* 11*th of* January.

Most Gracious Sovereign,

WE your Majesty's most Dutiful and Loyal Subjects, the Commons of Great Britain in Parliament Assembled, return Your Majesty our Unfeigned Thanks for your most Gracious Speech from the Throne.

We beg leave most heartily to congratulate Your Majesty upon the Success that has attended Your Arms; and it is with the greatest Satisfaction We observe that the Officers and Soldiers of the Army have, by a brave and faithful Discharge of their Duty, deserved Your Majesty's Approbation; and that the just and necessary Measures taken for strengthening Your Majesty's Hands. have had so good an Effect in preventing Insurrections in several parts of the Kingdom.

The wise and seasonable Provision which Your Majesty has made, both at Home and from Abroad, for the Safety of the Nation; Your Goodness in giving all such Estates as shall be forfeited by this Rebellion, in case of your People; and the tender Regard and Concern which you have been pleased to express for their Sufferings; call for all the Returns of Duty, Zeal, and Affection, which Faithful and Loyal Subjects can owe or pay to the best of Kings.

This Rebellion, (for which not the least Colour or Provocation has been given) as it ought very justly to be the Object of your Majesty's Contempt, so it raises in your truly Loyal Commons the highest Resentment and Indignation against those ungrateful desperate Rebels, whose pernicious Principles, private Discontents, and Disappoint-

ments, have engaged them to involve their Country in Blood and Confusion.

We look with pity upon those unhappy deluded People, who by false Pretences and malicious Insinuations, have been betrayed into their own Destruction; but we detest and will do our utmost to confound the Devices of those, who, possessing an Unlimited Obedience, have stirred up a Rebellion against your Majesty, and under the Disguise of the Danger of the Church, are endeavouring to introduce Popery: and when we reflect that nothing less than our Holy Religion, your Majesty's Crown, and the Liberties of our Country are concerned in the Event of this wicked Undertaking, we cannot but with Astonishment observe the Indifference of some in this great and important Juncture.

But your Faithful Commons, with Hearts full of a due Sense of the Invaluable Blessings which they enjoy under your Majesty's most Auspicious Government, offer their Lives and Fortunes in Defence of your Undoubted Title to the Crown, in Support of the Protestant Religion, and in Maintenance of the Liberty and Property of the Subject; which, as they were wonderfully preserved to us by your Majesty's Happy Accession to the Throne, can only be Secured to Posterity by the Eye of Heaven watching over, and guarding Your Sacred Person and Your Royal Family.

And that this Nation may long continue to be a Protestant and a Free People, your most Dutiful and loyal Commons do most readily promise to grant such early and effectual Supplies as may enable your Majesty to put an end to this unnatural Rebellion, to confound and extinguish for ever all Hopes of the Pretender, his open and secret Abettors, and secure the future Peace and Tranquility of your Kingdom; being well assured that your good People will think no Burthen grievous, that is necessary for the Preservation of all that is dear and valuable to them.

But your Majesty's Care and Concern for the publick Welfare has not been confined to your own Kingdoms; and however your Enemies might flatter themselves that these intestine Commotions would lessen the influence of Great Britain in Foreign Parts, Your Commons with Admiration see, and with Gratitude acknowledge, the Effect of your Wisdom, which has been able to surmount these Difficulties in settling the Barrier Treaty for the Netherlands, between the Emperor and the States-General, under Your Majesty's Guaranty; in having made so great a Progress towards renewing all former

Alliances between Great Britain and the States-General; and particularly in delivering that valuable Branch of our Commerce with Spain, from those grievous Impositions and Hardships, to which it was subjected by the Treachery of the late Male-Administration.

And as the same fatal and pernicious Councils have been the Cause and Source of all the Mischiefs and Calamities that must attend this unnatural Rebellion; and as your faithful Commons, desirous to testify their Zeal and Duty to your Majesty, and their Abhorrence of this treasonable Enterprise, have already exerted themselves in endeavouring to bring to speedy and exemplary Justice the open and declared Instruments of this Rebellion; they think themselves obliged, in Justice to their injured Country to continue, in the most vigorous and impartial Manner, to prosecute the Authors of those Evil and Destructive Councils, which have drawn down these Miseries upon the Nation.

His MAJESTY'S most Gracious ANSWER.

Gentlemen,

'I Return you my hearty Thanks for the kind and warm Assur-
'ances of Loyalty contained in this Address, from which I
'promise my Self the most happy Consequences, since nothing can
'so effectually restore the Peace and Tranquility of the Kingdom, as
'the commendable Zeal you have expressed upon this Occasion.'

THE Proceedings in Great Britain are so remarkable, that they need no Introduction, and therefore we shall insert them without any.

Westminster, January 21. His Majesty came this day to the House of Peers, and the Commons being present, was pleased to give the Royal Assent to

An Act for continuing the Act of this present Session of Parliament, intitled, An Act to impower His Majesty to secure and detain such persons as His Majesty shall suspect are conspiring against His Person and Government.

After which His Majesty was pleased to make the following most Gracious Speech to both Houses.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

'I Had reason to believe when I spoke last to you, that the
'Pretender was Landed in Scotland; the Accounts I have
'received since do put it beyond all doubt, that he is heading the

'Rebellion there, and does assume the Stile and Title of King of 'these Realms: His Adherents do likewise confidently affirm, that 'Assurances are given them of Support from abroad. This Parlia- 'ment hath on all occasions expressed so much Duty to Me, and so 'true a regard for the religious and civil Rights of My People, that 'I am perswaded this daring presumption of Our Enemies will 'heighten your just Indignation against them, and beget such farther 'Resolutions, as, with the blessing of God, will enable me to defeat 'their attempts.'

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

'The most effectual Way to put a speedy End to these troubles, 'will be to make such provision as may discourage any Foreign 'power from Assisting the Rebels; I do therefore hope, that every 'sincere Protestant and true Britain will look upon the extraordinary 'Expence, which a timely preparation may require, to be the best 'Husbandry, since it will, in all human Probability, prevent that Deso- 'lation and those Calamities, which would unavoidably ensue if the 'Rebellion should be suffered to spread, and be supported by Popish 'Forces from Abroad.'

My Lords and Gentlemen,

'The World must be convinced by all you have already done, 'that you have nothing but the Honour and Interest of your Country at 'Heart; and for my own Part, I rely entirely upon you, and doubt not 'but you will take such Resolutions at this Juncture, as will be most 'for the present Safety and future Ease of My People.'

The Humble ADDRESS of the Right Honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament Assembled, Presented to His Majesty, the Twenty third Day of JANUARY 1715.

Most Gracious Sovereign,

WE Your Majesty's most Dutiful and Loyal Subjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament Assembled, beg Leave to assure Your Majesty, That the Landing of the Pretender in this Kingdom hath increased our Indignation against him and his Adherents; and that we are fully convinced, that it is not only requisite for the Security but also for the future Ease and Interest of your Majesty's Subjects, to exert themselves on this Occasion in a more than ordinary manner, to put a speedy End to these present Disorders, and to prevent those Calamities which must attend a lingering

Rebellion within the Kingdom, and to discourage its being supported by any assistance from Abroad: And that we will, to the utmost of our Power assist Your Majesty, not only in subduing the Present Rebellion; but in destroying the Seeds and Causes of it, that the like Disturbances may never arise again to impair the blessings of Your Majesty's Reign.

His MAJESTY's most Gracious ANSWER.

My LORDS,

'THis Address is a fresh Instance of your Duty and Affection 'to my Person and Government, and of your just and tender 'Concern for the safety of my People.

'The Vigour and Resolution you express on this Occasion, will, 'I hope, Contribute very much to the putting a speedy and effectual 'End to this Rebellion.'

The Humble ADDRESS of the House of Commons, presented to the King, January *the 24th*, 1715-16.

Most Gracious Sovereign,

WE Your Majesty's most Dutitul and Loyal Subjects, the Commons of Great Britain in Parliament Assembled, do with all Humility return our Unfeigned Thanks for Your most Gracious Speech from the Throne, and for Your Great Goodness in communicating to Us those Important Advices which so highly Concern the immediate Safety of Your Kingdoms.

We can never sufficiently express our Grateful Sense of Your Majesty's constant Care and Tenderness for Your People on every Occasion, since Your Accession to the Throne of Your Ancestors; but it is with the utmost Satisfaction of Heart that we now Experience the happy Effects of that just Confidence which Your Loyal and Affectionate Commons have already reposed in Your Great Wisdom, for making such Augmentation of Troops as Your Majesty should find necessary for our Common Safety. And tho' the Growth of the Rebellion has already necessitated an Encrease of Forces, yet we must ever acknowledge Your Wise and Tender Concern for Your People, in having made Provision for our Defence in such Manner, at this time of Common Danger, as must convince the World that it is with the utmost Reluctancy to Your Majesty that any further Burthens are brought on Your Subjects, and that Your Majesty has nothing at Heart but the Security and Welfare of Your People.

Your Dutiful Commons do likewise Acknowledge, with the highest Gratitude to your Majesty, that to the prudent Disposition of Your Forces, not only the Designs of our Enemies to have raised Insurrections in many Parts of the Kingdom have been entirely frustrated, and the Peace and Tranquility of these Nations thereby, in a great Measure, preserved; but to that we owe, under God, those signal Successes which have check'd the Progress of the Rebellion, and which have given us, Your Faithful Commons, so early and just an Occasion to exert our selves in the most vigorous and effectul Manner, for bringing some of the chief Actors to condign Punishment.

We are astonished at the daring Presumption of the Pretender and his Adherents, and do most sincerely and heartily assure Your Majesty that our Indignation is hereby heightened against them; And that we cannot so far forget our Duty and Affection to your Majesty, and our Concern for our Religion and Liberties, as not to take, at this Critical Juncture, such further Resolutions as will effectually enable your Majesty, with the Blessing of God, to defeat their Designs.

Your Faithful Commons being therefore firmly and unalterably Resolved to spare no Expence, and to decline no Hazard for the Support of Your Majesty's Title and Government, whereon all that is dear and valuable to Us and Our Posterities, under God intirely depends; and being most Earnestly desirous to give all imaginable Proofs of Our Constant and Unshaken Zeal and Affection for Your Sacred Person; and being thoroughly Convinced that We cannot more effectually consult our own Security, than by testifying our entire Confidence in Your Majesty's known Justice, Wisdom and Goodness, Do most humbly beseech Your Majesty, that You will be graciously pleased to give Directions from time to time for such further Augmentation of Troops as the Exigency of Affairs shall render necessary.

And We do farther Assure Your Majesty, That We will grant such Supplies as shall be sufficient, not only to Maintain such Additional Forces, and to defeat all the Attempts of Your Enemies both at home and abroad, and to prevent those Calamities which must ensue, if this Unnatural Rebellion should be suffered to spread; but also to Enable Your Majesty, with the Blessing of God, effectually to shew Your Resentment against any Foreign Power that shall presume Directly or Indirectly to abett or support the Pretender or his Adherents.

His MAJESTY's most Gracious ANSWER.

GENTLEMEN,

'I Thank you heartily for this Address: if anything could add to the 'Good Opinion this House of Commons deserves from Me, it 'would be the Zeal and Unanimity you have shewn upon this Occasion.

'You may depend upon My continuing always as I have hitherto 'done, to make use of the Confidence and Powers you put in Me, 'only for restoring and securing the Peace and Quiet of My People.'

EDINBURGH, February 3. On the 29th past, the Duke of Argyle with the King's Army under his Command, march'd from Stirling to Dumblain, where the Vanguard was already arrived. The next Morning a Detachment was sent with two Pieces of Cannon to attack the Castle of Braco; but the Rebels abandoned the same, after having committed great Barharities in the neighbouring Country. The 30th a Detachment of 200 Dragoons and 400 Foot, with two Pieces of Cannon, march'd early in the Morning to dislodge the Rebels from Tullibardine; but they retired, except 50, who surrendered at Discretion. His Grace the Duke of Argyle arrived there that Night with the Army, and rested there the 31st, to give Time to the Country People to clear and repair the Road. The Pretender having Notice of the Motions of the King's Army, came from Scoon to Perth the 30th, and about 11 of the Clock in the Forenoon abandon'd that Place, the Rebels retiring with so much Precipitation that they left their Cannon and Waggons behind them, except 3 of the larger Pieces, which they threw into the River. They pass'd the Tay over the Ice, and retired towards Dundee. The Duke of Argyle received Advice of the Retreat of the Rebels at Tullibardine the 31st, and march'd the same Evening with Lieutenant-General Cadogan, with a great Detachment of Horse and Foot, and arrived at Perth the 1st of February, at Two in the Morning, where he was joined by the rest of the Army the same Day about Two in the Afternoon. The whole Army was quartered in Perth. We have a Report, That the Rebels have separated themselves: That some of the Clans are gone towards the Hills, and that others have followed the Pretender, who with his Horse is marched towards Montrose: off of which Place there are 7 Frigots cruizing. 'Tis said, the Pretender cry'd very much when he left Perth. On the 2nd in the Morning the Duke of Argyle having left 800 Men in Perth, marched with the rest of his

Army to Errol, and from thence proceeded Yesterday to Dundee, where General Cadogan with a strong Detachment was arrived the Night before. The Army is to march forthwith in Pursuit of the Rebels in the Columns; his Grace with one of them along the Sea-Coast, and General Cadogan with the other through the Country directly towards Aberdeen, whither the Rebels are retiring.

Montrose, February the 4th. The Pretender receiv'd Advice here about 4 in the Afternoon, That Part of the King's Army was advancing towards Aberbrothic, a Town within 8 Miles of this place; whereupon he ordered the Clans, which had remained with him after his Flight from Perth, to be ready to march about 8 at Night towards Aberdeen, where he assured them a considerable Force would soon come to them from France. At the Hour appointed for their March, the Pretender ordered his Horses to be brought before the Door of the House in which he lodged, and the Guard which usually attended him to mount, as if he designed to go on with the Clans to Aberdeen; but at the same time he slipped privately out on Foot accompanied only by one of his Domesticks, went to the Earl of Mar's Lodgings, and from thence by a By-way to the Water-side, where a Boat waited, and carried him and the Earl of Mar on Board a French Ship of War about 90 Tuns called the Maria Teresa of St. Malo; about a quarter of an hour after, two other Boats carried the Earls of Melfort and Lord Drummond, with Lieutenant General Sheldon, and 10 other Gentlemen, on Board the same Ship, and then they hoisted Sail and put to Sea. The Lord Tinmouth and the Earls Marshal and Southesk were left behind to shift for themselves. The Clans are for the most part dispersed and run to the Mountains, the few who continue in a Body are gone towards Aberdeen. Lieutenant General Cadogan arrived at Montrose on the 5th in the Afternoon, with the Regiments of Wills, Edgerton, and Clayton, and 600 detached Foot. The Duke of Argyle came last Night to Brechin, within 5 Miles of this Place, with all the Dragoons. Lieutenant General Vanderbeck with the Foot lay at Aberbrothick, and they all continue their March to Day towards Aberdeen in pursuit of the Rebels.

Letters from Aberdeen of the 8th of February, say, That the Duke of Argyle being arrived there with the King's Army, and understanding that General Gordon and other Chiefs of the Rebels, were

retiring with 200 Horse towards Peterhead, his Grace detached immediately Major-General Evans with a great Detachment of Dragoons towards Fraserburg, to intercept the Rebels aforesaid, and that Detachment was to be followed by the rest of the Army. The Rebels have a small Body of Foot together, who are retiring towards the Mountains, but the King's Forces were in Hopes to overtake them. The Chiefs of the Rebels have signify'd, That they are ready to submit upon Terms; but were answer'd, That they are not to expect any, and must submit to the King's Mercy.

We hear there is Advice, That the Pretender landed at Waldam between Gravelines and Calais, on the 9th of February in the Morning.

When the Rebels had Notice of the Motions of the King's Forces, they sent 3000 Highlanders, who plunder'd and burnt the Country between Perth and Dumblain, as namely, the little Towns and Villages of Auchterarder, Creiff, Blackford, and Duning, &c. which was done in Pursuance of several Orders issued by the Pretender; one of which Original Orders, which is that for burning Auchterarder, signed by the Pretender's own Hand, and countersigned Mar, having been found at Tullibardine, has been transmitted hither, and is as follows.

James R.

WHereas it is absolutely Necessary for our Service, and the publick Safety, that the Enemy should be as much incommoded as possible, especially upon their March towards us, if they should attempt anything against us or our Forces; and seeing this can by no means be better effected than by destroying all the Corns and Forage which may serve to support them on their March, and burning the Houses and Villages which may be necessary for quartering the Enemy; which nevertheless it is our Meaning should only be done in Case of absolute Necessity; concerning which we have given our full Instructions to James Graham, Younger, of Braco. These are therefore Ordering and Requiring you how soon this Order shall be transmitted to your Hands by the said James Graham, forthwith with the Garrison under your Command, to burn and destroy the Village of Auchterarder, and all the Houses, Corns, and Forage whatsoever within the said Town, so as they may be rendred intirely useless to the Enemy. For doing whereof, this shall be to you, and all you imploy in the Execution hereof as sufficient

Warrant. Given at our Court of Scoon, this 17th Day of January, in the Fifteenth Year of our Reign, 1715-16.

To Collonel Patrick Graham, *or the Commanding Officer for the Time, of our Garrison for* Tullibardine. *By his Majesty's Command,* MAR.

This Barbarity to the Inhabitants of Auchterarder, who had already been impoverished by Taxes and Contributions which the Rebels had extorted from them, is the more surprizing, because it could no otherwise incommode his Majesty's Troops (who carried with them from Stirling Provisions of sorts for 12 Days) than by obliging them to lye one Night only in the open Air.

WE told you in our *Mercury* for December last, that the Pretender had published a Declaration in Scotland, which was indubiously dispersed through Great-Britain and as we thought it inconsistent wlth our Duty and Allegiance to our Sovereign King George, to concur so far in the Design of the Pretender, as to publish the Declaraton issued by him against His Majesty's Titles; so now, that the Danger is over, and the Pretender fled out of his Majesty's Dominions, we should be defective in our Design, which is, to collect and preserve Materials for the History of our Time, if we did omit to insert the Declaration aforsaid, which the Government has so far despised, as to put out no Answer thereunto, as indeed it deserves none at all, it being but a dull Repetition of some sophistical Arguments, which have been often answer'd before.

The DECLARATION.

1. JAMES VIII. by the Grace of God, of Scotland, England, France, and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, &c. To all our Loving Subjects, of what Degree or Quality soever, Greeting. As we are firmly resolved never to omit any Opportunity of Asserting Our undoubted Title to the Imperial Crown of these Realms, and of endeavouring to put Our self into the Possession of that Right, which is devolving upon Us by the laws of God and Man; so must We, in Justice to the Sentiments of our Own Heart, Declare That nothing in this World can give Us so great Satisfaction, as to owe to the Endeavours of our Loyal Subjects, both Our and there Restoration to that happy Settlement, which can alone deliver this Church and Nation from the Calamities which they lie at

present under, and from those future Miseries, which must be the Consequences of the present Usurpation. During the Life of Our Dear Sister of Glorious Memory, the Happiness which Our People enjoy'd, softened in some Degree the Hardship of Our own Fare: And we must farther confess, That when We reflected on the Goodness of Her Nature, and Her Inclinations to Justice, We could not but persuade Ourself, That she intended to establish and perpetuate the Peace, which she had given to these Kingdoms, by destroying, for ever all Competition to the Succession of the Crown, and by securing to Us at last the Enjoyment of that Inheritance, out of which We had been so long kept; which Her Conscience must inform Her was Our Due, and which Her Principles must lead Her to desire that we might obtain.

2. But since the Time when it pleased Almighty God to put a Period to Her Life, and not to suffer us to throw Ourself, as we then purposed to have done, upon Our People, We have not been able to look on the present Condition of Our Kingdom, or to consider their future Prospect, without all the Horour and Indignation, which ought to fill the Breast of every Scotsman.

3. We have beheld a Foreign Family, Aliens to Our Country, distant in Blood, and Strangers even to Our Language, ascend the Throne.

4. We have seen the Reins of Government put into the Hands of a Faction, and that Authority, which was designed for the Protection of all, exercised by a few of the worst, to the Oppression of the best and greatest Number of our Subjects: Our Sister has not been left at Rest in Her Grave; Her Name has been scurrilously abused; Her Glory, as far as in these People lay, indolently defaced; and Her Faithful Servants inhumanly persecuted: A Parliament has been procured by the most unwarrantable Influences, and by the grossest Corruption to serve the vilest ends; and they, who ought to be the Guardians of the Liberties of the People, are become the Instruments of Tyranny. Whilst the principal Powers engaged in the late Wars, enjoy the Blessings of Peace, and are attentive to discharge their Debts, and ease their People, Great-Britain, in the midst of Peace, feels all the Load of a War; New Debts are contracted, new Armies are Raised at Home, Dutch Forces are brought into these Kingdoms; And by taking Possession of the Dutchy of Bremen, in Violation of the Publick Faith, a Door is opened by the Usurper to let in an Inundation of Foreigners from Abroad, and to reduce these Nations

to the State of a Province to one of the most inconsiderable Provinces of the Empire.

5. These are some few of the many real Evils, into which these Kingdoms have been betrayed, under Pretence of being Rescued and Secured from Dangers purely Imaginary: And these are such Consequences of abandoning the Old Constitution, as We perswade Ourselves, very many of those, who promoted the present Unjust and Illegal Settlement, never intended.

6. We observe with the utmost Satisfaction, That the Generality of Our Subjects are awakened with a just Sense of their Danger, and that they show themselves disposed to take such Measures as may effectually rescue them from that Bondage, which has, by the Artifice of a few Designing Men, and by the Concurrence of many unhappy Causes, been brought upon them.

7. We adore the Wisdom of the Divine Providence, which has opened a Way to Our Restoration, by the Success of those very Measures that were laid to disappoint us for ever. And we most earnestly Conjure all Our loving Subjects, not to suffer that Spirit to faint or die away, which had been so miraculously rais'd in all Parts of the Kingdom; but to pursue, with all the Vigour and Hopes of Success which so just and righteous a Cause ought to inspire those Methods, which the Finger of God seems to point out to them.

8. We are come to take our part in the Dangers and Difficulties to which any of our Subjects from the greatest down to the meanest, may be exposed on this important Occasion, to relieve Our Subjects of Scotland from the Hardships they groan under on Account of the late unhappy Union; and to restore the Kingdom to its Ancient, Free, and Independent State.

9. We have before Our Eyes, the Example of Our Royal Grandfather, who fell a Sacrifice to Rebellion; and of Our Royal Uncle, who, by a Train of Miracles, escaped the Rage of the barbarous and blood-thirsty Rebels, and lived to exercise His Clemency towards those who had waged War against His Father and Himself; who had driven him to seek Shelter in Foreign Lands, and who had even set a Price upon His Head.

10. We see the same Instances of Cruelty renewed against Us by Men of the same Principles, without any other Reason than the Consciousness of their own Guilt, and the implacable Malice of their own Hearts: For in the Account of such Men, it is Crime sufficient to be born their King. But God forbid that We should tread in

these Steps, or that the Cause of a Lawful Prince and an injur'd People should be carried on like that of Usurpation and Tyranny, and owe its Support to Assassins. We shall Copy after the Patterns above-mentioned, and be ready, with the Former of Our Royal Ancestors, to Seal the Cause of our Country, if such be the Will of Heaven, with Our Blood: But we hope for Better Things: We hope, with the Latter, to see Our just Rights, and those of the Church and People of Scotland, once more settled, in a Free Independent Scots Parliament, on their ancient Foundation: To such a Parliament [which We will immediately Call] shall We entirely refer both Our and their Interests; being sensible that these Interests, rightly understood, are alway the same: Let the Civil as well as Religious Rights of all Our Subjects Receive their Confirmation in such a Parliament; Let Consciences truly tender be indulged; Let Property of every Kind be better than ever secured; Let an Act of General Grace and Amnesty extinguish the Fears, even of the most Guilty: If possible, Let the very Remembrance of all which have preceded this happy Moment be utterly blotted out, that Our Subjects may be united to Us, and to each other, in the strictest Bonds of Affection, as well as Interest.

11. And that nothing may be omitted which is in Our Power to contribute to this desirable End, We do, by these Presents, absolutely and effectually, for Us, Our Heirs and Successors, Pardon, Remit, and Discharge all Crimes of High-Treason, Misprision of Treason, and all other Crimes and Offences whatever, done or committed against Us, or Our Royal Father, of Blessed Memory, by any of Our Subjects, of what Degree or Quality soever, who shall, at, or after Our Landing, and before they engage in any Action against Us, or Our Forces from that Time, lay hold of Mercy, and return to that Duty and Allegiance which they owe to Us, their only Rightful and Lawful Sovereign.

By the joint Endeavours of Us and of our Parliament, urged by these Motives, and directed to these Views, We may hope to see the Peace and flourishing Estate of this Kingdom in a short Time restored; and We shall be equally forward to concert with our Parliament such further Measures, as may be thought necessary for leaving the same to future Generations.

And We hereby require all Sheriffs of Shires, Stewarts of Stewartries, or their Deputies, and Magistrates of Burghs, to publish this Our Declaration, immediately it shall come to their Hands in the usual

Places and Manner, under Pain of being proceeded against for Failure thereof, and forfeiting the Benefit of Our General Pardon.

Given under our Sign Manual and Privy Signet, at Our Court at Commercy the 25th Day of October, and in the Fifteenth Year of Our Reign.

Aberdeen, February 8.

YEsterday at Nine in the Morning, the Van of the Rebels marched from hence, as did their Rear about Two in the Afternoon. The Duke of Argyle is advanced hither, with a Detachment of 50 Dragoons and 400 Foot, and the rest of the Army under his Command is come into our Neighbourhood. On the 6th, General Gordon, who now commands the Remains of the Forces of the Rebels, produced to them here a Letter from the Pretender, in which he acquaints his Friends, That the Disappointments he had met with, especially from Abroad, had obliged him to leave this Country; That he thanked them for their Services, and desired them to advise with the said General Gordon, and consult their own Security, either by keeping in a Body, or separating. At the same Time, that General acquainted them, That they could not receive any more Pay. The main Body of the Rebels was to march last Night to Old Meldrum. About 200 of their Horse, amongst which are many of their Chiefs, with Irish and other Officers who came lately from France, are gone towards Peterhead, in order to imbark there. The Duke of Argyle has detached Major-General Evans, with 200 Dragoons and 400 Foot, to endeavour to intercept them, if finding they cannot get off at Peterhead, they make towards Fraserburg, as 'tis said they design to do.

We are now to add, That the several Detachments made to cut off the Rebels in their Retreat into the Mountains, having not been able to overtake them, his Grace thought fit to separate his Forces, and order them into proper Cantonments; of which the following Article from Edinburgh, gives a particular Account.

Edinburgh, February 18.

THE Troops are marching to their respective Quarters, which for the better preventing the Rebels joyning, and the more convenient Quartering of the said Troops the rest of the Winter Season, they are disposed of as follows: At Fort-William, alias Inverlocky, the Lord Viscount Irwin's Regiment of Foot. At Dumbartoun, Collonel Ed-

gerton's Regiment. At Glasgow, Collonel Morison's Regiment and a Squadron of the Earl of Portmore. At Stirling, Coll. Montague's Regiment, and a Squadron of the Earl of Portmore's. At Perth Brigad. Chambrier General Wightman's Regiment, and those of Chambrier and Sturler. At Dunkeld, Coll. Clayton and Polland's Regiments. At Aberdeen, General Montese and Brigadier Labadie, General Wills's, Shannon's, Rantzou and Zoutland's Regiments, with Stair's Two Squadrons. At Inverness, Earl of Orrery's, Grants, Welderen's and Smith's Regiments. At Elgin, Gen. Carpenter's Dragoons. At Dundee, Brigad. Cronstroom, Slippenbach's and Cronstroom's Regiments. At Arbroath, Coll. Newton's Dragoons. At Montrose, Lieut. Gen. Vanderbeck, Mey's Regiment. At Brechen, Gen. Evan's Dragoons. At Edinburgh, Coll. Stanhope's Dragoons. In Fife, Coll. Kerr's Dragoons. Making in all 10 British Batallions and 14 Squadrons, and 11 Dutch Battallions.

General Wightman having left the Government of Perth to Collonel Reading, and followed the Army to Aberdeen, is gone thence with four Batallions and two Squadrons to Elgin and Inverness, to Command there, and reside at the last Place as Governor. The Duke of Argyle continues at Aberdeen, where he is to be magnificently entertained by that Town on Tuesday next. We hear his Grace will not set out for London so soon as it was reported, being ordered by the King to continue some time longer in this Country, 'till the same is perfectly restored to its former Tranquility, and the scatter'd Remains of the Rebels return'd to the Obedience of their Sovereign, for which the Presence of his Grace is still necessary in these Parts.

The Detachments sent out after the Rebels, are now returned, having not been able to come at 'em before they got into the Mountains, where they had no Orders to follow them, at least during this rigorous Season. They report, That the Earls Mareschal and Southesk, Lord Tinmouth, Brigadier Buckley, and other Gentlemen and Officers of the Rebels, went aboard a Ship at Peterhead, and sailed; but falling in very soon with one of the King's Men of War, were forc'd ashore, and immediately took Horse, and went to the Hills, taking along with them their lightest Baggage, but leaving the heaviest aboard a Ship, which was taken, as also some Horses, which they left ashore when they imbark'd.

The Troops being on their March, the Duke of Argyle left Aberdeen, and came to Edinburgh, as we may see in the following Advice, which we insert as they are come, as containing several Particulars

which deserve to be consider'd, tho' some of them are not yet entirely confirm'd.

Edinburgh, February, 28.

WE have an Account from Dunbeth in Caithness, that about a Fortnight ago 10 Boats full of Rebels, to the Number of about an Hundred, landed there from the Ports of Buchan and Murray, with design to pass into Orkney and Schetland, there to find Means to escape into Norway and Swedeland. They write from Inverness that there had been a general Rendezvouse of the Rebels at Ruthuen in Badenoch, on Sunday the 12th Instant, that from thence they afterwards separated into several Bodies, and went Westwards towards Lochaber and the Isles, the Horse going into the Low-Countries, and the Foot keeping to the Hills and that the Lords and other Chiefs were gone along, except Huntley and Seaforth, the former having made his Submission, and the latter absconding, as 'tis said, in his own Country till he can obtain some Terms. Others say, that he is gone privately to London to submit to the King. They write from Inverlochy, that great Numbers of the Rebels were lately come into the Neighbouring Countries there, that they were scattered here and there in different Bodies, especially in Lochaber and Badenoch, that they talk'd much of the Pretender's making another Attempt very soon upon England or Ireland, and that a Body of 3 or 400 of them had passed by in sight of that Garrison. We have an Account from Aberdeen, that two or three more Gentlemen have surrender'd themselves there, and that besides Sir John Maclean, who is still sick at Castle Gordon, and Captain Mac Donald a Half-Pay Officer, who is Brother to the Captain of Clanranald, and sentenc'd to be shot by a Court Martial, they had taken two or three of the Episcopal Clergy, who presented the Address of that Diocese to the Pretender. The Duke of Argyle set out from Aberdeen on Thursday last, and arrived here on Sunday. Yesterday Castairs of Kilcouqhaer, a Fife Gentleman, came over and surrender'd himself to his Grace. This Day the Earl of Haddington was chose, without Opposition to sit in the House of Peers, in the room of the Marquis of Tweeddale, deceas'd, and immediately set out Post for London. To-Morrow the Duke of Argyle is to be magnificently entertained by our City, and on Thursday he sets out Post for London, whither he will soon be followed by General Cadogan, who is still at Aberdeen, but is expected here in a Day or two.

His Grace set out the Thursday following, being the first of March, for London, where he arriv'd the 6th; and now to conclude our Account of the Scotch Affairs, we shall insert the following Article, which contains many Particulars relating to the Rebels that have made their Escape.

Edinburgh, March 3.

YEsterday we had Posts from Aberdeen, Inverlochy, Inverness, and the Orkneys, with the following Advices, which are believed to be true, coming from the best Hands. On Sunday the 12th past, there was a general Rendezvouse of the Rebels, both Horse and Foot, at Riven in Badenock, where they amounted to the Number of four hundred Horse and two thousand Foot, after which they separated for the conveniency of Subsistance; the Horse into Lochaber, the best Country in the Highlands for Forage, and the Foot among the Mountains here and there, to continue so till they should hear further from the Pretender, according to his Promise to them when he went away. However, 120 Gentlemen of the Horse, among whom were the Lord Duffus, Sir George Sinclair of Kinnaird, ——— Sterling of Keir, Seaton of Touch, General Ecklin, Collonel Hay, the Master of Sinclaer, Captain Elphingston, &c. thought fit to take another Course, and ride with all speed to Burgh in Murray, where they embarked into 10 open Boats, such as were to be got there, for Caithness, with a Design of passing from thence into Orkney, there to find Means to escape out of his Majesty's Dominions, being afraid, as the Most Guilty, of being taken, and despairing of his Majesty's Mercy.

When they came to imbark at Burgh, they did not know how to dispose of their Horses, upon which General Ecklin immediately shot his through the Head, and 15 more follow'd his Example: What became of the rest we cannot tell. They soon landed at Dunbeath in Caithness, from whence they passed in two Boats, 60 of them in each into the Orkneys; the one arriving near Kirkwall, where a French Ship of 20 Guns belonging to the Pretender was ready to receive them on board; the other on the Island of Anskerry, where they knew of another Scotch Ship, which they designed to seize upon and go off in. The Magistrates and other Servants of the E. of Morton's in Kirkwall (where his Lordship is both Superior and Proprietor) went out against the first with what Arms they had; but the Rebels were so well arm'd, and prepared to receive them under the Cannon of the French Ship, that they thought fit to retire back

to the Town : Besides, the Rebels told them, that they were Gentlemen flying to save their Lives : That they would do the Inhabitants no harm so long as they were among them, but pay for every thing they had of them, which they did accordingly. The others seized the Ship at Anskerry, as they designed, and the Master of the same, whom they press'd aboard, after which they both put to Sea, steering directly Southward for France ; but the Wind turning contrary, they tack'd about to the Eastward, and 'twas believed they were gone to Gottenburgh. 'Tis again confirmed from Inverlochy, that of several Boats full of Rebels, which went out from the river of Loccy near that Garrison for the Western Isles, 2 were cast away, 21 Persons in one, and 26 in the other, all Gentlemen and their Servants, but their Names are unknown.

There is a Report at Inverness of a Boat likewise cast away betwixt Caithness and Orkney, but the Orkney Letters make no mention of it. Brigadier Grant has taken Possession of all the Houses and Castles in the Country about Inverness belonging to the Rebels, and put Garrisons into them, particularly Brigadier Mackintosh's House, and taken several Persons Prisoners, viz. Beaton of Balfour, a Fife-Gentleman of 1000 l. per Annum, General Hamilton's Son-in-law, and some French Officers. The Earls Mareschal, Southesk, and Lithgow, with Lord Tullibardine, are gone along with Glengary, one of the Chiefs of the Clans. The Lord Tinmouth, Brigadier Buckley, and other Strangers with Lochiel. General Gordon with the Foot is in the Heart of the Highlands, and the rest are canton'd other different ways. P. S. 'Tis reported, that one of the Boats which went out from Burgh in Murray, having 18 or 20 Persons on board, was cast away. General Cadogan set out from Aberdeen on Thursday last with Brigadier Stanwyx in a Chaise, which overturning near Elsick not far from the Town, the former was hurt in his Shoulder, but is well again, and will be here in two or three Days. This Day Lord James Murray, the Duke of Athol's second Son, passed through this Town with an Account, that Mackenzie of Fraserdale, Seaton of Lafrish, Carmichael of Bambley, and other Chiefs of the Rebels, had surrender'd themselves to his Grace. We have an Account this Night from Inverlochy, that a Party of 100 Men of that Garrison being out a plundering the Rebels Lands thereabouts, the Rebels got together to the number of 200 and attack'd them, whereupon a little Skirmish ensued, in which two or three Men were kill'd on both Sides ; but the King's Troops got off with their Booty back to their

Garrison. Yesterday we had Advice from the Commander of Castle Gordon, that the Marquis of Huntley is gone from thence to Inverness to surrender to the Earl of Sutherland.

These are all the Particulars we have to relate about the Scotch Affairs as to the Transactions by Land; but we should be unjust to the Sea Officers who attended this Expedition against the Pretender, if we did not insert the following Article.

Edinburgh, February 23.

THE Royal Ann Galley, Pearl, Port-Mahon, Deal Castle, and Phœnix, are returned from Cruising. It appears by the Journal of Captain Stuart, that he had early Intelligence of the Pretender's having put to Sea from Montrose in a clean-tallowed French Snow, which rowed out of the Harbour, and close in along Shore a good Way, with her Sails furled. The Port Mahon lay all that Night within two Leagues of the Harbour's Mouth, but 'twas so very dark, there was no seeing a Ship a quarter of a Mile distant. Captain Stuart and the Pearl were then off Aberdeen; and when the Rebels marched out of that Town, having Notice of their hastening Northward, and that Lord Tinmouth with 150 French Officers were contriving to make their Escape from Peterhead or Frazerburgh, he immediately dispatched away the Pearl and Phœnix, with Orders to lye off those Places, which effectually disappointed them. He lay himself off Aberdeen till the Duke of Argyle's Arrival there: The Wind afterwards blowing hard Southerly, he disposed the Ships chiefly on the South-Coast of Murray-Fryth; sent by the Deal-Castle a Letter to the Earl of Sutherland, to apprize him of the Flight of the Rebels, and to prepare him to receive them in case they should make a Push at Inverness; and traced Lord Tinmouth and his Associates as far as Port-Sany, where seeing a Ship of War lying to intercept them, they despaired of Success on the Coast, and therefore they joyned the Clans on the 10th Instant, and took to the Mountains. All the Ships kept the Sea dilligently, when Wind and Weather would permit, and observed the Motions of his Majesty's Army so carefully, that the Duke of Argyle did not pass through any Port-Town, without finding some Ship ready to put in Execution any Service his Grace might have had to propose.

On the 21st Sir John Jennings received Advice from the Lord Lovat, that a Vessel with the Pretender's Plate and other Effects on Board, and a considerable Sum of Money for his Use, had lately put

into the Lewis, and that many of the Chiefs of the Rebels were making off to the Skie and the other Northwest Islands : Whereupon he immediately ordered the Drake Sloop thither, with Instructions to cruize about the Orkneys if the Winds should then be contrary ; and by Express directed Captain Stuart of the Alborough to dispatch the Happy Sloop thither, to cruize himself with the Lively, for fourteen Days, about the Isles of Islay, Mull, and Canney, to endeavour to intercept the Rebels, or any Vessels employed for their Relief.

The Earl of Rothes is appointed Governour of Stirling in the Room of the Earl of Mar.

After these several Accounts, the Reader will not doubt of the total Suppression of the Rebellion in Scotland, especially seeing that the Marquis of Huntley has actually deliver'd his Person to the Government, and that it will be impossible for the Rebels to subsist in the Mountains, wherein they are shut up. The great Success of his Majesty's Arms in the reducing of the Rebels, and the hasty Retreat of the Pretender and his Adherents, who visibly appear'd seized with a Spirit of Terror, deserves a serious Consideration ; and as the Hand of God has been against them in a most conspicuous manner, this new Deliverance calls aloud for a serious Gratitude, and ought to inspire all British Protestants to lay aside their Animosities, and unite themselves in a Bond of Peace, that their Common Enemies may never have any more an Opportunity to expose them to the Danger and Destruction from which they have been so freshly and miraculously deliver'd.

WE told you in our last that General Cadogan was expected at Edinburgh, but he did not continue long in that Place, for the Government having Advices that several Chiefs of Clans were at home in their respective Countries with their Men about them in considerable Numbers, and having the Low-Country Rebels along with them, and under their Protection, the General aforesaid received Orders to march with 2000 Foot, and several Squadrons of Dragoons into the Highlands, and reduce the Rebels. What Success he has had therein, will best appear by the following Account.

From the Camp at Blair of Athol, March 30.

ON the 27th, Lieutenant-General Cadogan arrived here with some of His Majesty's Troops, and was Yesterday joined by Major General Montese with the rest of the Detachments which were expected. Since our Arrival, all the Rebels in these Parts, and in

the Brays of Angus and Mar, who had not delivered up their Arms, have brought them in, and surrendred at Discretion. We have Advice from Collonel Clayton, who was Detached with a Party into the Laird of Appin's Country, that the said Appin's Men and those of Glenco had given up their Arms, and submitted likewise at Discretion. Those of Badenoch, whither a Detachment was also sent, have done the same; so that all the Rebels between the Tay and the Spey, are now disarmed. The King's Troops have paid during the whole March for every thing that was furnished to them, and such exact Discipline has been observed, that there has not been the least Complaint.

Most of the other forces are ordered for England.

"INTER FOLIA FRUCTUS."

COLCHESTERS TEARES:

AFFECTING & AFFLICTING CITY & COUNTRY,

Dropping from the sad face of a New Warr threatning to bury in her own Ashes that woful Town.

FAITHFULLY COLLECTED, DRAWN OUT INTO A MODERATE RELATION AND DEBATE, HUMBLY PRESENTED TO ALL FREE-BORN ENGLISHMEN.

BY SEVERAL PERSONS OF QUALITY;

Who much doubted and desired to see the Truth in the mist of various relations obscuring the same, but now convinced by their own eyes, do conceive themselves bound to give out this briefe Narrative to satisfy all unprepossessed, civil, and moderate men, and good Christians, who truly love Jesus Christ, their King, City, and Country, and sincerely desire the settlement of Peace and Truth.

Have pity upon me, have pity upon me, O ye my friends, for the hand of the Lord hath touched me.—Job 19c. 21v.

Is it nothing to you all ye that pass by, behold and see if there be any sorrow like to my sorrow which is done unto me, wherewith the Lord hath afflicted me in the day of his fierce anger.—Lament. 1c. 12v.

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"History is but the unrolled scroll of Prophecy."
JAMES A. GARFIELD.

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INTRODUCTION.

THE Siege of Colchester, in the summer of 1648, will always be one of the most interesting episodes of our Great Civil War: and yet, interesting as the episode is, it is one of the least known to modern readers.

To understand properly the very curious tract which is here reprinted, it is necessary for the reader to bear in mind the state of affairs when the siege took place. The town of Colchester, like the rest of Essex, was out-and out Parliamentarian. Hardly any family of note, save that of Lord Lucas, had supported the Royal cause, whilst amongst the Parliament leaders we find Sir Harbottle Grimston, Sir Thomas Honeywood, and many others.

In June, 1648, the Earl of Norwich, baffled in Kent, crossed the Thames into Essex and, being joined at Chelmsford by Sir Charles Lucas, Sir George Lisle, Lord Capel, Colonel Farre, and others, seized ten Parliamentary Commissioners as hostages. On the 10th of June Lord Norwich left Chelmsford with 4000 men. On the 12th they reached Colchester and found the gate closed and a body of armed citizens drawn across the road. Sir Charles Lucas galloped forward and, dispersing the citizens, summoned those within. They immediately threw open the gates. Followed closely by Fairfax, Lord Norwich, unfortunately for himself and his cause, resolved to stand a siege.

Colchester is a place of considerable natural strength situated on a hill, with its Northern and Eastern sides protected

by the river Colne ; with walls enclosing a parallelogram of about 120 acres, and from seven to eight feet thick ; and a ditch carried along the swampy meadows and up the western hill side ; the position from a military point of view, was well chosen. Norwich, as I have said, had 4000 men : 3500 foot and 500 horse. Immediately on arriving he collected what provisions he could, securing considerable supplies at the Hythe, the port of Colchester. His forces, besides the city itself, held the extensive ruins of the Benedictine Abbey of St. John's, outside the Scherde Gate Postern, and the ruined house of Lord Lucas on St. John's Green.

On Sunday, the 13th of June, Fairfax who had crossed the Thames at Gravesend on the 11th, appeared before Colchester and summoned the defenders to surrender. His forces were somewhat in excess of those of the Royalists, consisting of about 3000 infantry, besides two to three thousand Essex and Suffolk volunteers, and 1200 cavalry.

The siege lasted from the 13th of June to the 28th of August, a period of 75 days. A hard fight took place immediately after the summons to surrender had been refused by Lord Norwich. The advanced brigade consisting of the regiments of Needham and Barkstead, with Whalley's horse, and some Essex volunteers, assaulted the Head Gate with great fury. The defenders, gallantly led by Colonel Farre, came down Crouch Street, to defend the approaches, and there was a fierce hand-to-hand fight which lasted several hours. The besieged had occupied ground called *Sholand* and *Boroughfield*, but at last they were driven back, and retreated within the Scherde Gate Postern, and the Head Gate, Lord Capel bravely leading on his men on foot, pike in hand, and he fastened the gate for the moment with his own cane. It was late at night before the action was over, when several hundred slain were left under the walls. Among those who fell was that gallant Yorkshireman Colonel Needham, the companion of Fairfax at Selby and Marston Moor, and in many a hard fought skirmish beyond Trent. Fairfax, finding the defences more formidable than he had expected, determined to besiege

the place *secundum artem.* He fixed his head-quarters at Lexden, and threw up an earthwork opposite St. Mary's Church, which was named Essex Fort. He then continued throwing up earth works till he had completely closed the approaches on the west side, between the Lexden Road and the river. On the 20th of June, the works on the West being completed, he commenced operations against the north and south walls. A fort was thrown up in front of the North Bridge,called Fort Ingoldsby,and another, Fort Rainsborough, opposite the ford at Middle Mill. On the 26th the besieged sallied out and endeavoured to prevent the Roundheads from throwing up a redoubt across the road to Maldon, facing the Head Gate, but were driven back with loss. On the 6th of July Sir George Lisle and Sir Charles Lucas with 700 men, marched out of the East Gate and carried the bridge with a rush. Flushed with success, insteading of entrenching themselves in the important position they had gained, they charged up the opposite hill, when they were met by Whalley's Horse and thrown into confusion. They fled back to the town, losing many killed and wounded. On the 20th Fairfax succeeded in driving the Royalists out of all their advanced posts and back into the city. Provisions had now begun to fail and the garrison were reduced to eating horse-flesh, and soon after even cats and dogs. The wretched citizens were even worse off than the soldiers, and their treatment by Sir Charles Lucas and his followers is related, with exaggerations no doubt, in the very curious tract here reprinted. On the 11th of August, the stores being nearly empty and the magazines almost denuded, the clamours of the townspeople for a surrender found echoes amongst the soldiery. Negociations were opened, but Fairfax would only grant quarter to the soldiers and subordinate officers, requiring all the leaders to surrender at discretion. By the 27th resistance had, however, become impossible, and these articles were agreed to. The next day 3436 common soldiers and subordinate officers and 75 superior officers surrendered. The gallant Sir George Lisle and Sir Charles Lucas were tried by court-martial and shot that same evening. Lord Norwich and Lord Capel were tried in Feb-

ruary 1649. The casting vote of the Speaker saved the former, but the latter was found guilty by a majority of three and executed. This was a cruel and unjust sentence, and the majority wereundoubtedly guilty of a judicial murder. Col. Farre and Lord Loughborough managed to escape, luckily for themselves. A review of the besieging army was held on the 29th of August, and thus ended the famous Siege of Colchester.

The only eye witness who has told the story in anything like satisfactory detail is Matthew Carter, the Quarter-Master General of Lord Norwich's army. The other side of the story is told in the pages that follow. Three pamphlets, describing different episodes of the Siege are in the British Museum, and some particulars may be obtained from the pages of Rushworth, the Tanner MSS., the Fairfax Correspondence, and Lord Fairfax's own short memoir. But the best account is that by Mr Markham in the *Archæological Journal* for 1877, though his Parliamentarian proclivities break out here and there, despite his evidently anxious efforts to be impartial. To his paper I here acknowledge my great indebtedness.

EDMUND GOLDSMID.

A BRIEFE NARRATIVE OF THE WOFUL STATE OF DISTRESSED COLCHESTER.

WE are neither unwilling to look back upon all our former doubts and dissatisfactions, nor willingly are we unmindful to look forward upon any thing that may cleare our Judgments in the right understanding of truth, and the true state and carriage of the cause of this wofully divided and if God in mercy prevents not (like to be) undone kingdome; and though with all the understanding God has given us we have laboured to judge of things as they have lien before us in their natural grounds and in order unto their proper ends, yet wee finde ourselves so farre Christians, that wee are drawne and enforced oftentimes to judge many things evill by reason of the miscarriages therein, which in themselves simply considered we have judged good and had entertained good thoughts of before.

LOVING FRIENDS AND ALL YOU FREEBORN ENGLISHMEN,

Give us leave to propose and offer to all unprepossessed moderate men a few of our most serious renewed thoughts. Do we not all desire the same thing? Peace, a happy peace, *pacem te poscimus omnes*, and the Lord grant it. But God forbid that any of us should embrace sinfull securitie instead thereof, dote upon or rather dreame of our owne peace one with another, whilst God is not at peace with us, and whilst the proper foundations of peace and love, God's truth rightly understood, Scripture truth, is not advanced. We judged our Government to be good, but shall we say it cannot be mended? our King to bee wise, but shall we say he needs no counsell? our Laws to be just, but are they perfect? our Church to bee reformed, but have we no blemishes? our Nation to bee strong, but are we not divided? our Armie to be valiant, but are they invincible? our City to be rich, but are they not proud? our Countrie to

be populous, but are they religious? Ah, sirs, if any thing be amisse, shall no hand go about to mend, but all to marre, ravel, and make it worse? Is there none to plead with God, no balme in Gilead, no kissing of the Sonne lest he be angry? or are men become more implaceable than God, and earth more unreconcileable than Heaven? where are the spacious pretences of enemies, when their designs and actings, Boatman-like, row another way than they looke? where is the faith of friends when there is so little love? where is the old English honour, memorable in the subduing of forain foes, whilst England makes a prey of itself? and when is our former ancient renown again to be settled, when every man even in disorderly wayes rises against another, and all labouring to dig a grave for the kingdome, and to bury poore England in her own sod ashes and wofull ruines? Have we no hearts to mourne for our distractions, no eyes to see our approaching destruction? what no heads to contrive nor hands to help in time of need? are our hearts so hard that they will never melt? are our eyes so big swolen, or rather blinded, that we cannot, or which is worse, will not see the flames kindled ready to seize on our own houses? hath either Divine Justice so blasted, Satan bewitched, or wee perverted our own judgements, that we should not grow weary of being longer happy, and bee content to sit down and quietly embrace our own misery.

Wee moderate minded judge heretofore the frame of our church to be very far out of order, and her constitution diseased, when the most unpolished stones were laid nearest to the foundation, the strongest pillers and helpers of the building were struck down, the windows bedaubed with paint to hinder not help the light, the dresse more regarded than the complexion, and the lome on the walls more affected than the bread of life. But we judge it now too bastardly to spit in her face, too *Cham*-like to call her whore, to mock at her nakednesse, and abuse her sons and best children, invade her patrimony, spend her portions unthriftly, and cast off all her first love.

Wee did judge the body of religion by the greatness of the shadows formerly, and yet wee know the bigger the shadows grew our sun was the lower, night the nearer, and have found the beasts of the field the fiercer after their prey. But yet (Pan-like) wee would not, whilst we have either grace or wits left us, bee content to embrace bulrushes, lest the dirt they grow in stick to our fingers; and not the body of Holiness, but the dark shadowes and formes of religion, and not the power under the bare notion of light, be our portion. Wee have ever

judged it our duty to obey our King first in God and then for God, and God knowes our consciences are the same they were; but no honest man nor wise subject can in wisdom make him a God, nor good christian give him that which belongs to God. If the King acts as a man, and discovers any infirmity, he mends the matter when he acts as a king, for that wraps up and includes power quà King; but when he would put forth regall powers, and yet mixes infirmitie therewith, will any judicious man affirme that infirmity to be his power.

Wee have ever judged the laws of the land to the defence of our just liberties, and our libertie to be supported by those just and prudent foundations of the law. But wee were heretofore in some measure, and now better satisfied, that there are laws of higher concernment that must not bee neglected, and liberties more to be valued than those pent up within the straits of the creature here below. Modest men have seen many pretend making conscience of the lawes of men, that make none of the lawes of God; and those that pretend conscience in order unto God's lawe, whom no tie will hold to render them just towards men; we look then to see men square when they are both pious and just, their consciences being answeiable to those rules, and that each of those rules hath according to its excellency the prioritie or prehemencie in the dictates of conscience.

Though we some of us heretofore could not so fully close with every branch of the nationall covenant yet we ever judged, and in reason could not deny, but it was in many respects not onely lawfull, but very requisite and safe for any man to wrap himself up in Covenant with God, and the rather in respect of those two golden rules, that seem upon a review and second thoughts had thereon, to line out a man's path to keep him from error and danger, viz., *according to the word of God and according to my calling:* but as we cannot on the one side (in our weaknesse) apprehend how any with saftie can take it with reservation, explications, and mental reservations of his owne, or refuse it in the true grammaticall plaine sense thereoff, without strong inclinations to some degree of suspition, or at least indifferency in religion, or more prudential reservations than (as wee now judge since God opened our eyes a little better) will well consist with true zeale, and sincere affection to God, who, as hee hath voluntarily entered covenant with us infinitely redargues our folly in rejecting him.

Wee have ever had loyal and religious thoughts in obeying of and

praying for our King, and therefore his Majesty might expect us in all dutie, and in all due and safe wayes, to beg and humbly to pray his Majesties restoration to those rights which are properly and truely his own, in all due, safe, and honourable wayes, from the hands of men, who have often begged mercy and favour for him at the hand of God; but we never could make it out, that those rights which God for the present hath deprived him of, rather by the evill counsils and unrighteous ways of his loyaltie-pretending friends, than by any undue violence of his loyall subjects not enemies, that those rights, we say, were ever designed by him to be recovered by the infirmity of them who had lost their power; and without authoritie, because without his commission, or at least without clearly legall commission and authority, that they should take upon them to invade the undoubted, and to the King and his liege people well known both legall and regall powers of his Parliament, and under colour of saving the King to destroy his people, and to lift up his throne upon the ashes and ruins of the houses, habitations, and safties of his Majesties loyall subjects. This is that which we humbly hope and pray that all moderate men will a little look into, and by the sad example of mournful and much-lamented *Colchester*, take warning in time.

Wee profess, in the presence of God, wee have with both our eyes and serious second thoughts, reviewed to the lowest stone this new raised war, breaking out under colour of defence of his Majestie and our own right of petitioning. And some of us have told some of the ringleaders in this sad cause, that if they would lie the ground so as honest and civill men might go upon it with them; if they would cast their platforme and make answerable declaration thereof to the moderate partie of the kingdome; if they would give us some assurance that his Majestie would govern (if once advanced by conquest) by parliamentary and not by absolute soveraignty, and that (since as it was alledged that the army and our citie, country, councels, King and Kingdome) that there might be some expedient found out, as of necessitie there must be to satisfie not fight them, lest we should but fight the sword out of one hand into another; how we might be satisfied that the souldier would lay down the sword at his Majesties feet, and submit to his will, and his will be kept within the proper bounds of faith by protection, we should, these things being done freely have closes on that side.

But when to our great amazement the ring-leaders of that great designe confessed themselves uncertain in their grounds, doubtful in

the persons that acted, disavowed the ende clearly by the greatest of them designed conquest; and when we begun by the persons acting, and those that were for them the most active in this new war, to goe higher to look into their designes, we cleerly saw the too rigid, angry and undone spirits of the kings old souldiers reaching further than we profess our hopes could follow in the pursuance of the kingdomes peace thereby. And when we saw their heat and haste to be doing, prevent their wisdomes and councils, their parties (though considerable) appear so disorderly by reason of their haste, their disorder not backt with answerable valour, and their want of valour produce no other effect but ruin to themselves, and sorrow to the poor country, hoping some ease and reliefe by them who have been hereto for Egypts staffe a staffe of reed to his majestie and his poor undone partie, when we saw their sinceritie produced no better a cause, their cause was accompanied with no more courage, and their courage failed them to engage their enemies sometimes upon equal terms, sometimes upon great odds on their side; we have an old proverb, one true man will beat three thieves, we will not apply to offend any but labouring our own and satisfaction to moderate men; we professe we could not see (being standers by) but they had been right in their cause, courage, and good consciences, they being brave-bred Englishmen, but that they might with mere valour and success by the blessing of God have somewhere engaged their enemies, and yet

How came 4 or 5000 in Wales to rout 10 or 11 or 12000? How came 2 or 300 about Bury in Suffock to drive out of that strongly barricaded town 4 or 500? How came as they said 20000 in Kent to be routed, stormed and beaten by 3 or 4000? How came Langdale to refuse engagement with Lambert in the North, and draw away? How were Pomfret forragers snapt, the partie at Hounsloe Heath and St. Needs taken in part, and the rest dispersed? and that which we mainly drive at, how was that numerous heap of men from 7 or 8000 themselves sad driven into Colchester by 4 or 5000, for that number we believe at the uttermost was the General's army at that time.* Nay and to admiration, how came that strong party of 1000 men besides horses issuing the other day out of Colchester upon Sir Thomas Barnardistons regiment, to be beaten in again by a small party of green souldiers but about 200 men, and they as well as all the rest taken in great

* See Introduction.

disorder too? We profess we cannot but see something to our admiration in these things.

And though we have been so far men as weakly to stand in doubt, and much to question rather than resolve ourselves what to do or say almost hitherto, yet we are so far Christians (though we will not judge causes by the events infallibly, or designes always by their successes) that we profess ourselves bound in conscience to publish to others a brief narrative thereof, what we have seen and found working convictions upon us.

We shall first give you the narration of things seen, and then of that which credible reports from eye-witnesses and ear-witnesses coming out of the Towne doe testifie, wherein we must humbly crave leave, in the detestation of such horrid things as our English nation abhorrs to heare, and in hope it may make them blush that had hands therein, and others to beware of beleeving any thing but what they have from those that are moderate in opinions, yet as much misliking baseness as any other, we crave leave therefore to shew ourselves offended because we have been too moderate, wee feare, and indifferent formerly, and have been too much given to be carried away by deceits and delusions put upon us by that lying spirit which now runs through the kingdom, and no greater reason make us abhor more than because we would not be of the number of those who beleeve lies, and will receive no truth but that which is agreeable to their desires and opinions; many instances whereof some of us had in our travaile North and South very lately, where sometimes if any of that angry party that wee were to submit to, beleeve formerly did report any thing against our sight or knowledg, we must neither beleeve our own ears nor our eyes, before their relations, without offence. And this we professe in God's presence we found too true in many places, but most of all, to our griefe we speak it, we found this most in the City, and the good Lord pardon and pity it in our near and deare friends.

And this gave us the greatest satisfaction we have received, and humbly offereth to you as followeth.

What specious pretences, guilded shows, and fair varnishes, this now sad tragedy had laid over it to colour the same, wee need not relate, what promises and strong engagements of Protection during their abode at Colchester, what hopes they gave of passing speedily away without molesting or wronging any man we shall not trouble you to

relate, calling God and their own consciences to witnesse, who approved their entrance and laboured therein. But alas, alas, we tremble to mention or think of that which was presently acted by those unkind guests amongst their then seeming joyfull friends ; soon was it brought about to make the persons, houses, families, and estates a prey of some five or six who did visibly oppose their entrance (for so few God knows were sensible of this new-felt danger, and so generall was that wofull error, which all were surprised by in that strait) : and then they must needs make enemies, roundheads, rogues, and what not of any other that was too civill for their company or too rich to go unplundered : it was not a matter of any great difficultie to bring on the Townsmen to act in this common calamity who were before so generally corrupted in their judgments, and ready to act that way of their own accords. What sad hearts and dejected countenances, and bitter sighes may we imagine some godly minister, gracious women, and humble-hearted trembling Christians, expressed their griefe by in this heavy and dolorous day of affliction now laid upon them ; yet this now poor place for seven years last past in other wants having abounded, and it is to be feared grown rich, lifted up and too much forgetting her sad condition, the Lord humble their hearts and bring them to their states, and affect all us with it who have through the goodness of our God escaped this heavy rod : they many of them staid some for wives, some for children, some for parents, some for masters, some for trades, estates, and other interests, and relations, untill the Lord brought the sword nearer, first by cutting of that passage towards the Suffolk quarters, who took the Bridge and the East Gate Street with a partie who kept the Church over against the Hith : then the Suffolk forces on one side entered the Hith Towne and Church, and my Lord Generals forces on the other, and striking down towards that street leading from the Town to the Hith took all to Eastgate, then they entered *Sir John Lucas* his house, couraigiously beat out *Gorings* forces, and the next day in the evening the Lord Generals men to admiration of us standers by, with very little loss and much gallantry, took that strong place called the Gate-house with the fort and church, and so my Lord Gorings party was driven and cooped up in the high Town, and presently began that fearful fight and woeful spectacles of firing all round the walls, the streets on both sides being by my Lord Gorings party set on fire, and from the time of taking the Gate-house all that night for about a mile in length continued burning and flaming, that

some of us being a mile distance had light almost to read a letter so far, and a terrible red duskye bloody cloud seamed to hang over the Town all night, and so furious was the fire by reason such stately and goodly buildings were burnt thereby, that many times the flashes mounted aloft far above house, church, or any buildings, and continued with such horror, cracklings heard a mile or two from the town, and with such lamentable outcries of men women and children, that it is beyond expression to relate how much more to moderate men standing by it was more than merciless crueltie to act.

And not herewith contented, the next night afterwards set fire on the North street needlesly which so enraged the Auxiliaries of Suffolke, as well as the firing had angered the trained men, that any ingenous may easily judge that they have so far taken the firing of their neighbours houses to heart, that if ever they come to try them it is very likely they in the Towne have so hardened their hearts against them that they will find them no more green souldiers than they found the trained men green souldiers, upon their sad sally at the *Turnpike*, as are likely to find as little favour from them as they found at their hands whose houses they fired and turned them and theirs (without so much as letting them have time to take their goods and wares) a begging to the wide world, and on Wednesday night after, which was the fift night, several good houses were turned into ashes with the goods therein. In all which three things seem to trumpet forth their cruelty, and by these flames do offer light whereby the dim sight of all men that will see may behold the grizly face of woful desolation looking assuredly into those houses where strugglings of two armies doe happen ; First, their burning needlessly, whereas there is a greater question whether for a mans own defence a man may burn at all, by a mans defence hee escapes but the evill of punishment, but by burning and without consideration well giving is the eville of sinne to burn, and so more to be avoided than the former. Secondly, their not giving warning before they burn usually, unless they can get something of the masters of the houses to save them and then presently to set fire to them and run into the town and cry out that the round heads fire the Town, and we think that he that is the master of crueltie is the very father of lies. Thirdly, they have entered covenant with severall in *East Street* not to fire, and taken money some say £14 some 15 and some £40 into their hands and then presently have fired the same houses themselves and lay the fault upon

the round heads, nay they were demanded whether they would fire or no, and did promise if so to discover it, and were offended that the man should aske any more when they had promised him warning thereof, and yet did fire it presently without warning notwithstanding. They come out and plunder every day as farr as they dare those people who stay in their houses in hopes to prevent firing, they force many to swear that they have no more money, or else they will kill them within, &c. Nay they seized on one Mr. Hughes, took his money, and swore God dam me the rogue hath more money, and swore again that if he would not swear by the same oath God dam that he had no more mony, that he would presently kill him, and so Mr Hughes denying in a trembling troubled state, still would not sweare, the souldier drew his sword and Mr Hughes went mad thereupon. They come out of the Towne, fain themselves round heads, get what will be had by fair or foul means, take persons or goods that may be serviceable to them and fire the rest, and these things and many more of this nature, are acted daily before the eyes of hundreds against hundreds of families to the undoing and disinhabiting of above six hundred families in the suburbs of that woful Town, for so many were given in to be ruinated at the least, besides many thousands in the suburbs and country dis-inabled, yea and in the city damnified and having estates there are almost undone by loss already sustained in that place, and the Lord knows when the fire of his wrath and their burnings shal cease too. As for those outrages committed in the Town we have them by credible report, yet because divers agree in the reports we think fitt to name them but only thus. The inhabitants are much straightened in their provisions, as it may be a twopenny or threepenny loaf in a family of coarse bread *per diem*, and if any complain for want, they are checkt, and are told that they must not complaine until horse-flesh be worth ninepence or tenpence the pound, and reply was made by one hearing a woman complain for food for herself and child, *God damn me* that child would make a great deal of good meat well boyld.

First, much filthinesse might be named of women, attempted sometimes, forced others, shreeking, crying, flying, and sometimes scapring sending their husbands out forcibly and fall on their wives in their absence. Secondly, all persons and sorts seem to be tainted till it come to their ministers, one of them breaking three or four locks to come by a woman and shee no way to escape but by shreking and crying out, nay Sir Charles Lucas himself had insnared a woman if

my Lord Goring had not come in and cald upon him to go to one of the forts, as a fitter place for him than there, for said he your gunner has prove false, he went away and the woman came away, fled over the wall, and told her neighbour this story, and that if this providence had not happily fallen in, she could not have escaped his hands but with dishonesty or death: the most memorable is the answer of a gentlewoman who if she did not yeeld had a pistoll set to her breast, yes, saies shee, I shall cheerfully imbrace your pistoll and my death, but not you. Thirdly, as for violence in their temporal rights, their guests are masters and masters of families in all they have are their slaves, and are at their disposing, so that if any stir, presently a word and a flash, nay inhumanely a maid seeing some injury offered to the person and goods of her Mistris, in defending her mistris had her fingers tyed, light matches put to them and burnt her fingers to the stumps. All which and more if wee took delight in this element are daily acted, beside those heavy trials laid on women with child and others newly brought to bed, they and their children and all they have driven into some field or backsides or streets, where they lye open to bullets to dash them and theirs in pieces every moment.

How sad a spectacle it is to see goodly buildings, well furnished houses, and whole streets, to be nothing but ruinous heaps of ashes, and both poor and rich now brought almost to the same wofull state, to see such people scarce able to stand upon their legges, and women some presently upon their delivery, some ready to be delivered. Infants in their mothers lappes and some hanging on their mother's breasts, all turned out of harbour and left helplesse to lie on the cold ground, to see poor and rich men, late of good quality, now equal to the meanest, toyling and sweating in carrying some mean bed or other away, or some inconsiderable household stuffs out of the burning, all of them with wailing weeping gastly countenances and meager thin faces, shifting and flying in distraction of mind they scarce no whither, to heare the lamentable cries of people comming from the Towne, old and young women, children poor and rich, lying before and crying unto the Generalls guards to passe, and bewailing their folly in entertaining such guests as now will be sure to provide for themselves and leave the Town people especially (if there be the face of religion or civility on them) to shift for themselves; we professe we have heard some souldiers in their returns from the guard rejoicing to bee out of the mournfull citty, of people desireing to pass the guards but not permitted, because then the souldiers would easily

drive away the Inhabitants from their own houses and support themselves the longer by that provision which is left.

The Lord make their hearts sensible of that smart whose hands are so fild with cruelty to others ; for God knows the worst we wish to those that are our adversaries, if not implaceable foes to Jesus Christ, is that God would change their minds, humble their hearts and save their souls from (the certain issue of this their rage) wrath to come : the Lord also bring the hearts of that people in and about the Towne to a true sight of the cause wherefor this great wrath is come upon them ; we judge not but remember 2 Chr. 36. 16., that amidst the many other provocations that the immediate cause of Jerusalems ruine was mocking the messengers of God, dispising his word and misusing his prophets, till there was no remedy : and the good Lord work all these sad providences upon all our hearts, who are the greived and woful spectators of the miseries they feel, and we feare because we doe deserve as well as they. And now O you in the Towne whose design we had great expectations of, and whose manifestors rendered you formerly to us the moderate party of the kingdome, formerly under a farre other notion than those flames and desolation discover now : give us leave to bespeak you and give us to understand what was the cause of your flying into a walled town when (if your cause, courage, and consciences, had been right as we then hoped) you might have fought it out with the choise of the advantage of your own ground, and being then as many as your enemies, have trusted God the just judge of heaven and earth for succesce, why did you suffer yourselves to be coopt up by those you see (in your answer unto) so much to contemn, and never but once in almost two moneths to look out upon your besiegers, and then by a great party upon terms of advantage, taken, make a poore flourish, run in again with loss and shame from an unprovided party, not past a quarter soe many as yourselves, why do you use that poor Towne so hardly and your enemies so gently, as if your would now tell us your cause or courage were not so good as before, or else only intended to be first revenged of your sad friends in Colchester for entertaining you, and then bury the Town itselfe in the same grave you have digged for the suburbs. Ah sirs, why did you kindle those flames, which have (as a Limbeck set up in sad Colchester) drained the eyes of all the moderate party of the kingdome, by this deep unkindness? Perhaps you will say your own desire inforct it, what? were you inforct, before ever you had tried your

own strength? who would have had a hand in that which the child that is yet unborne shall curse the hand that acted it to all posterity? or if your feare did enforce you to make such a distance 'twixt your walls and the remaining houses, how did you overcome your feares to steal out to burn and ruin houses and persons, three or four days after the great burning was by God's mercy and to our admiration quenched, as if you took delight to exercise your crueltie on the houses of them you had first undone without necessity? Ah unkind friends, whom we are grieved to complain against and yet enforced to be angry with for such bitterness and unnatural dealings, we had hope that you would (like those old ministers of our sick state) first have brought a necessity upon yourselves for want of courage, and then made that necessity to usher in your great discourtesie to your best friends. How can you look us (moderate men well affected to you heretofore) in the face, when you have made us blush and hide our heads as we hear these things, how can we speak or doe for you who have undone yourselves and us in undoing your best friends? Why did you and we complain heretofore against the armies violence, when your deeds justified them and strengthen their hands to take revenge on all that have sided with you? if the eye of the moderate part of the kingdome lookt on them as enemies, can they looke on you now as friends? if an odium in the kingdome and city was grown upon the army, doth not this course take it off of them and set it upon you? if they had done more evill than this and lesse service than you have done for the king and kingdomes deliverance, they might expect heavens just guerdon in due time; but what good can be in these cruelties or desolations, or what wages can be the crowne thereof in the issue? If they were low in the kingdomes eye 'tis true but you tell the kingdome now, and let them see in the flames a necessity for their service if they will not make you their masters. Many of them are blamed (perhaps much blamable) for their opinions in points of religion, but are your judgments sound whilst these spots are found in your present conversation? Some were offended for some of them arrogating to themselves to be our saviours, and do you not think more will be angry with you for being our destroyers?

How should you think, and what fools we think now were we to imagine, that they should by Almighty God be used for our king and kingdomes salvation, that they could scarce many

of them to our knowledge (until under your command) keep themselves from the gallowes? and that they should set the people free who were well known to be more willing to prey upon than to pray for or act for the people of England's freedom? what honour did our prudent King see you could doe him, who hath not given you so much as commission to act by? what honour could you add to his crowne by putting fire stones instead of pearls thereunto, and inforcing as wee now see loyall subjects to take it away for a time from his use, lest it should be prostrate to your violence? what strength can be contributed to us by your infirmities? or what stability to our religion, his throne, or our tottering state, by such wretched ignoble and weak props, as we now feare the hand of heaven never cut out for that end? wee profess ourselves so filled with astonishment that we find it true *durum esse satyram non scribere*; and amongst other things we much admire at four things. First that *Colchester* should entertaine a partie whilst pursued by an enemy, bring war to their dores, and might have easily been seen neither able to defend themselves against their friends nor enemies. Secondly, that the Kings party should be so weake as to think that because the Parliament army as some judg'd lookt to be their masters therefore they would give themselves up into their hand to become profest slaves. Thirdly, that *Presbyterians* and *Independents* should endanger to lose the substance of religion for the shadow of a name, and in making out a platforme of government, upon which the devil hath mounted so many ordinances of men or rather engines of the devil (divisions we mean) as threaten not only the battery but the demolishment also of the strongest hold of truth and true love, which Jesus Christ by grace hath fortified the hearts of beleevers his saints by. Fourthly, that the City who must needs aime at two things chiefly, the advancement of their honour peace and safety and the ending of these broiles 'twixt King and people, by party rather than victory, lest he that conquers finding his adversaries purse empty should at last make himself amends out of their treasures, and that they should not so much as labour to preserve Gods interest as their own, to preserve the Parliament as the King, and to avoid tumults amongst themselves rather than to take sides one against another, thereby to make the flames of the kingdome to seize on the metropolis of the kingdome, which God prevent for his mercies sake.

The Church it's clear mist it when her fathers turned tyrants and rob'd her children of their bread, and her nurses became step dames

to rule in the Fathers house at their pleasure and turn the best and quietest children out of his doors, and now God hath taken away their power and ceased their hatred, are not our infirmities and the childrens want of love found as dangerous prognosticks of Gods dishonour and our ruin now as before.

The King mist it he denyes not in many things, which he was ill advised by former bad ministers of state, who when questioned had nothing to flee to but the Kings power to cover those infirmities of theirs, a thing therefore inexcusable because it hath so mixed infirmity with power that ever since that which properly was and is made subject to be questioned to bee infirmity; and are all ministers of state now better principled, or all that are better principled, rightly in order to pious and prudent ends rightly acted now?

The Parliament mist it wee think when they suffered too much of the old frame in church and commonwealth to be pulled down at once before a new platforme (far easier then (we think) to have been contrived than now) was provided, and shall any be so bad members now as to conclude because they did not then what they could, being mistaken in the mixture of time for the fitnesse thereof, that therefore they will never do us any good as some (striving to fell the bough off the subject priviledge whereon they themselves doe also stand) doe affirme and so weakly conclude because the Parliament did not then that good which they have perhaps unduely hoped, therefore they will strive to undoe it and themselves against that which they in honesty have covenanted should see performed.

The Army, say some, mist it in bringing on the sword to interfeer with the counsells of the kingdome, but they have not as conscientiously submitted, are they not now in the midst of many discouragements diligently imployed? and if their necks were on the block for that fault, if it be concluded to be a fault, shall all their former good services be forgotten and never be remitted; the City was in fault (many affirme) at first, and now at last for striving both times by tumults to disturb the kingdomes councells; and in so full a body 'tis no wonder if there be many bad humors if once stirred dangerous tumults and swellings. But have they been alwaies well used, hath not the kingdome needed their purses and been supplied? come he that hath money must have friends or else our friends may bee to seek when we have need of them and mony too; away away we say with all these particular accusations and exceptions one against another, and all those apologies defences and justifications of our-

selves. We must live together. O let us love one another; let the strong bear with the weake and the weake not despise the strong; let the aged instruct the young and the young honour the aged; the poor give respect unto the rich and the rich love and relieve the poor: the minister more care for the flock than the fleece, and the labourer not be denied his wages nor reverence due for his work sake; let gentlemen keep hospitality for their poor neigebours, and poor neighbours give them honour that they may encouraget hem to dwel amongst them; let all strive to give encouragement to the husbandmans labor who provides bread, to the shepheards vigilance who provides clothing, Seamens hazzards who brings in wealth, the Tradesmans industry who improves our commodities, the merchants care who feeds our treasures, and in a word to every man's serviceableness to the whole body politique. Let the country maintain the Parliaments Priviledges, the parliament defend the Countreys liberties, let both and all support the honour of the king, and the king strive to secure and defend them both, and all both king and people, lest the great interests of the kingdom, the Gospell, servants and ordinances of Jesus Christ suffer; let every one in his place indeavour to do his own duty, every man sweep his own dore, and throw the first stone at his brother who can find himselfe innocent. We have al of us many infirmities, the Lord cover them, all of us wandering from the way, let us pitty one another, help one another, advise one another, comfort one another, and pray for one another, and

Let that man suspect he carries within his breast a heart of stone, that he hath no English blood within his veins, and that he hath not remaining so much as the common affections of a Christian, but hath not lost all his bowells, who hath no compassion, compunction, and affliction of soul, for the Mournfull, disconsolate, desolate state, of mistaken, misled, misused, dolorous, undone, and dying Colchester.

THE END.

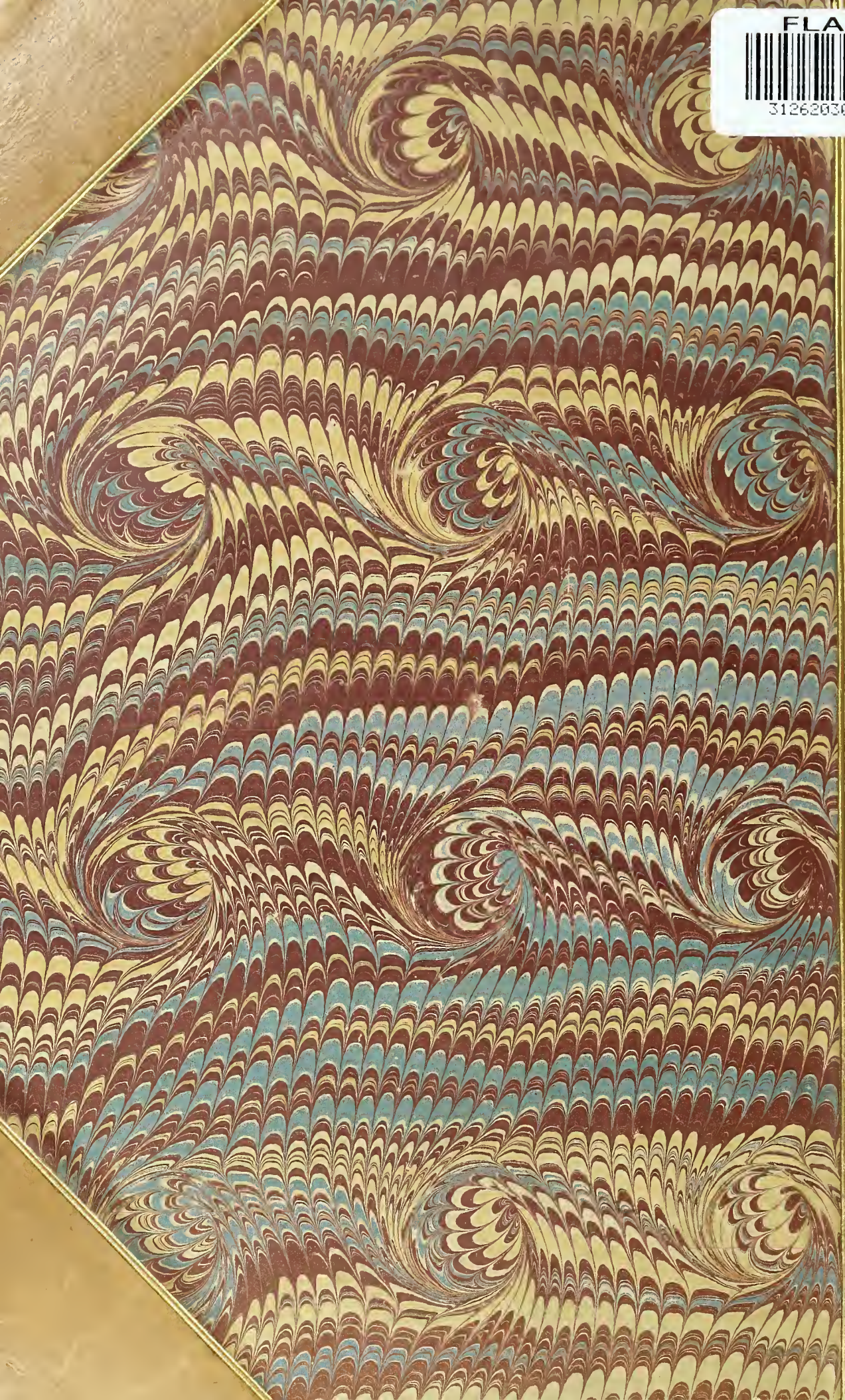
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